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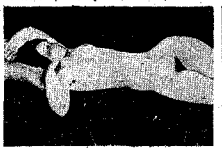

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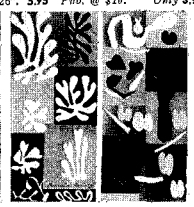

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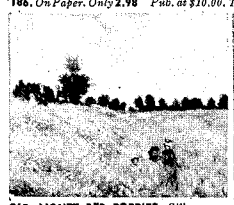

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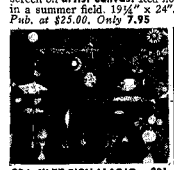

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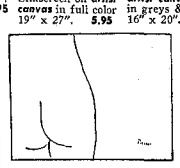

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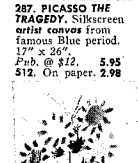

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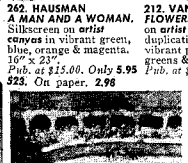

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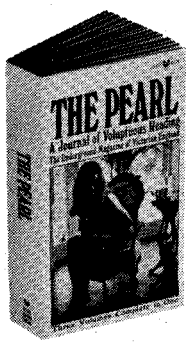

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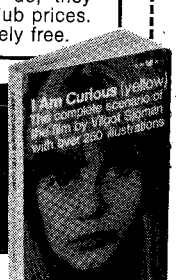

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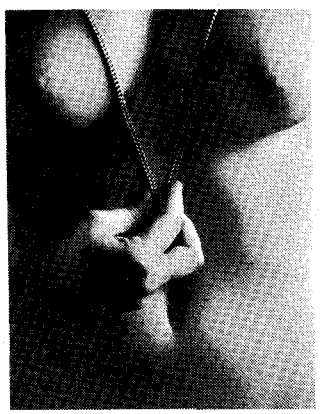
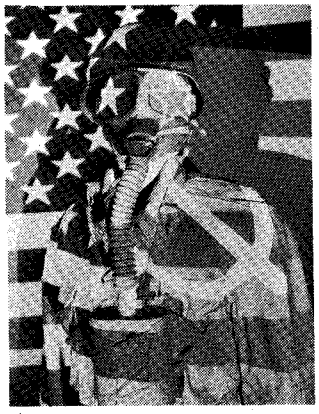
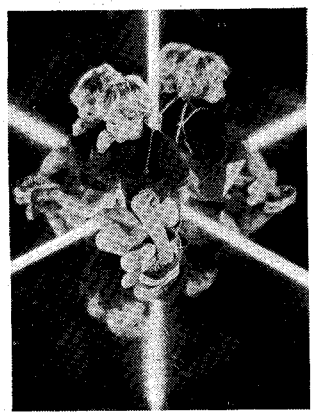
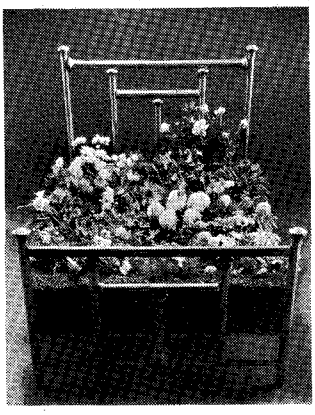

1 Authentic Self

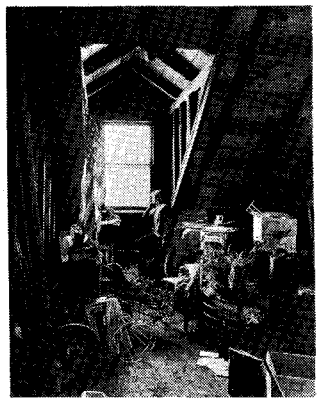

2 Face of the Enemy

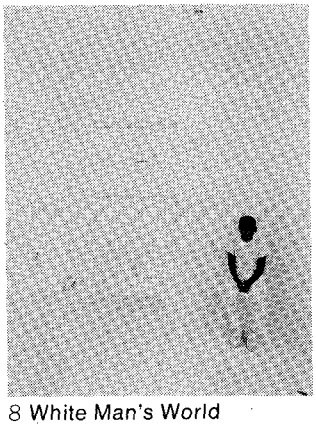
3 Cocktail Chatter


4 Autistic Child

5 Mother and Child


6 Human Sexuality


7 Girl in the Attic


8 White Man's World

9 Trip

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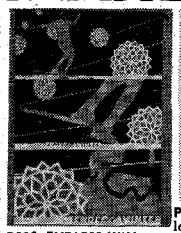


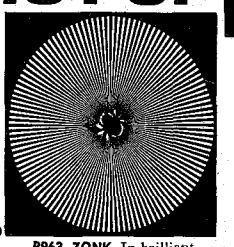
P238. ENDLESS WINTER. Ski bum paradise in blinding day-glo red, chartreuse, blue & white. 29" x 41". *Only* **1.98**

P239. PHOENIX. Rebirth of the legendary Phoenix; dayglo cerise, burnt orange, purple, green, chartreuse & black on blue back ground. 29" x 23". *Only* **1.98**

P294. TIMOTHY LEARY for GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA. Silkscreen day-glo greens, cerise, blue, brown. 20"x28". *Only* **1.98**

P246. BAEZ GIRLS. "Proceeds from the sale of this poster go to The Draft Resistance"; black & white. 29½"x42". *Only* **1.00**

P147. Hug: LION'S HEAD *On Canvas:* in brown tones and yellows. 22" x 28". *Only* **5.95**



P963. ZONK. In brilliant dayglo colors on black. 39½" square. *Only* **2.49**

P146. Hug: LEOPARD. *On Canvas*— a leopard in repose, lithographed in brown tones and yellows. 28" x 22". *Only* **5.95**

P127. MARIE THREE. The famous Marie in a Recamier pose—clad in Saran Wrap; in full color. 42"x 29½". *Only* **1.98**

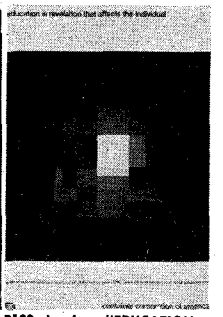
P117. PINK LADY. In day-glo pinks and burnt orange. 20¼" x 31¼" *Only* **1.98**

P110. Thoreau: ON INDIVIDUALITY. Painting by Hazard Durfee with greens predominating. 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**

P876. MARIE. Photograph in full color— 29¼" x 52½" *Only* **1.98**

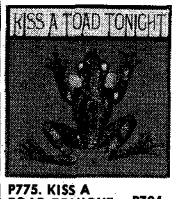
P676. OSAKA EXPO '70 POSTER. Chrysanthemum in bronze-gold with red center on black background. 29¼"x 42". *Special* **1.98**

P111. Faulkner: "I BELIEVE . . . that man will not merely endure/he will prevail/. . ." 30" x 45" *Only* **3.95**



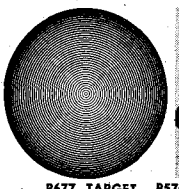
P109. Lessing: "EDUCATION IS REVELATION THAT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL." Purples, reds, grays, yellow & white center. 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**

P962. MORE MARIE. In full color on coated stock. 29½" x 42½" *Only* **1.98**



P775. KISS A TOAD TONIGHT. Toad in reds on olive green background. 25½" x 25½". *Special* **1.49**

P794. You don't have to be Jewish to love Levy's. The Levy's Rye Bread poster is now a full-fledged classic. Full Color; 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**



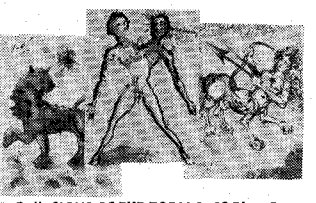
P677. TARGET. *HUGE* in blinding red, yellow, black and white. 40" x 40". *Special* **1.98**

P570. Toulouse-Lautrec: ARISTIDE BRUANT. Collotype in black, green and a subdued orange on a cream background. 20"x 28". *Special* **1.00**

P880. BRIGITTE BARDOT. In Full Color—Bardot in necklace, golden hair, and water. 29½" x 42¼". *Only* **1.00**

P667. ENDLESS SUMMER. Iridescent hues of fuchsia, orange and mango with figures in black. 29¼" x 40". *Special* **1.98**

P737. Picasso: DON QUIXOTE. *On Artists' Canvas*—silk-screen in black on white canvas. 20" x 24". *Special* **2.98**



P301. Dali: SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC—12 Plate Portfolio. Reproduced in *eight* colors. Incredibly imaginative, each a masterpiece. Each 14" x 18". *Portfolio of 12, Only* **9.95**

P187. GRETA. Painted lady motorcyclist athwart a Los Borrachos M.C. rod; full color. 42" x 29". *Only* **1.98**

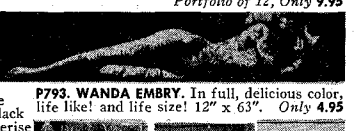
P129. SYNCOPATED RHYTHM. Color blocks in rhythmic pattern; dayglo greens, red, blue, orange, on black. 29" x 23". *Only* **1.98**

P130. TOM THUMB Dayglo greens, reds & yellows on a blue background 21" x 27". *Special* **1.98**

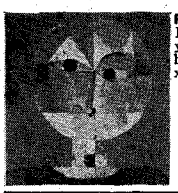
P789. SIGNALS OP circles and squares in day-glo fuchsia, dayglo green and rust. 25" x 23" x 29". 38". *Only* **1.00**

P240. U&I. Dayglo burnt orange, rose, cerise, chartreuse on matte black. *Only* **1.98**

P242. WE SHALL OVERCOME. Matte black fist & rifle, black lettering, day glo cerise & green circles on char treuse. 28" square. *Only* **1.49**

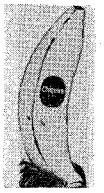


P793. WANDA EMBRY. In full, delicious color, life like! and life size! 12" x 63". *Only* **4.95**



P665. Klee: SENECIO. Hues of red, pink, yellow, cream and burnt orange. 15¾" x 17". *Only* **2.98**

P666. CHIQUITA BANANA. In ripe banana yellow. 19" x a 48¾" banana high. *Special* **1.00**



P788. SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR—AND NOBODY CAME. Silkscreen in black and dayglo red. 25" x 38". *Special* **4.95**

P572. Toulouse-Lautrec: JANE AVRIL. Collotype in shades of green, yellow, subdued orange and gray. 20" x 28" on heavy stock. *Special* **1.00**

P177. "?" The world the dot of a question mark, with a mushroom cloud swirling above; in 4 colors. 23" x 29". *Only* **1.98**

P573. Toulouse-Lautrec: DIVAN JAPONAIS. Collotype in shades of green, gray-green, yellow and subdued orange. 20"x 28" on heavy stock. *Special* **1.00**

P780. Klee: FLOWERS IN STONE. Lithograph in orange, pale cream, green, blue, and rose. 18¾" x23½". *Pub. at $7.50. Now Only* **2.98**

P883. I WANT YOU. In subdued red and shades of blue. 29½" x 39½". *Only* **1.98**

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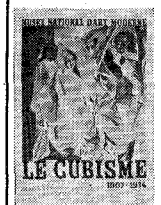


P249. PICASSO—LE CUBISME. 1953 Exhibition with famed "Demoiselles d'Avignon" in warm browns, ice-blue, ice-gray & blue, 20" x 28". *Only* **1.00**

P250. HOMMAGE A CEZANNE. 1954 Exhibition with Cezanne's "Bathers" in muted greens & browns. 20" x 28". *Only* **1.00**

P251. LAUTREC—VILLE DE NICE. 1954 Exhibition of Lautrec graphics; yellow, beige, gray, blue. 20" x 28". *Only* **1.00**

P252. BRAQUE GRAVEUR. 1953 Exhibition poster in yellow, black, blue-gray & brown. 20" x 28". *Only* **1.00**

P286. Complete Set of 4 Posters. *Special* **3.88**

P835. Picasso: THE GUITARIST. Classic in blues with brown 18" x 26½". *Pub. at $7.50 Only* **2.98**

P112. FROGS. Dayglo cerise, orange, chartreuse, blue, green on matte black. 29"square. *Only* **1.98**

P571. Toulouse-Lautrec: MOULIN ROUGE. Collotype in shades of green, yellow, black and subdued orange. 20" x 28" on heavy stock. *Special* **1.00**

P837. Chagall: THE PRAYING JEW. In dark tones, icy blue-white, and yellow-green; 18¼" x 24". *Pub at $7.50. Only* **2.98**

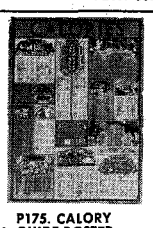
P878. JOIN THE CAVALRY. In subdued blues and browns. 29½" x 40¾". *Only* **1.98**

P976. CAMPBELL KID PSYCHEDELIA. Psychedelic foliage in a rainbow of bright, striking colors. 24" x 36". *Special* **1.98**

P790. OUT-OF-STEP. Blue and dayglo orange patterns out-of-step. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**

P960. PEACE/LOVE. Black with a day-glo rainbow background running from cerise through orange, yellow, green to blue. 23" x35" *Only* **1.98**

P884. A MAN AND A WOMAN. In dayglo cerise, green, orange, red, on matte black background. 29" x 40½". *Only* **1.98**



P175. CALORY GUIDE POSTER. 350 food and beverage items in several bright, attractive colors. 21" x 29". *Only* **1.98**

P871. Lorin Gillette: LOVE. Couple embracing against a background of sea and sand. 17¼" x 21½". *Only* **1.98**

P858. Ben Shahn: YOU HAVE NOT CONVERTED A MAN BECAUSE YOU HAVE SILENCED HIM. Black & brown on white. 30"x 45". *Only* **3.95**

P276. WAR IS GOOD BUSINESS—INVEST YOUR SON. Lithograph in ice-blue, deep blue, and red lettering. 23" x 29". *Only* **4.95**

P115. CAT. In flaming dayglo green against dayglo cerise and orange background, 20¼" x 30" *Only* **1.98**

P193. THE DIFFERENT DRUMMER. Poster for the famous NYC clothing store après Rubens' Rape of the Sabine Women; reds, blues, browns. 22½" x 35". *Only* **1.98**

P233. LED ZEPPELIN— Atlanta Pop Festival. Dayglo red, orange & green on matte black. 21" x 30" *Only* **1.98**

P114. SPHERES. Vivid dayglo red, orange, and green spheres on a matte black background. 19" x 31". *Only* **1.98**

P190. HAVE YOU HAD YOUR PILL TODAY. Uncle Sam on the population explosion; black on white. 23" x 29". *Only* **1.98**

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P245. LA LUTTE CONTINUE. French student poster in dayglo red on white. 26" x 41". *Only* **1.49**

P986. LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR: Lily Pons' "Met" Debut, with Gigli, De Luca, Pinza. 12" x 16". *Only* **1.00**

P305. PEACE-GOODWILL. Doré in *Dayglo* silkscreened in blinding cerise, orange and green. 27" x 21". *Only* **1.98**

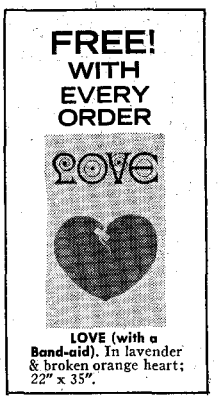
P716. Mucha: BIERES DE LA MEUSE. Muted tones of purple, yellow-gold, red, cream. A huge 34¼" x 53". *Special* **2.98**

P157. PEACE ON EARTH. A young man's questions, with him since childhood, go unanswered, when he falls before an enemy bullet—shades of red & brown. 19" x 24". *Only* **1.98**

P282. SIX FOOT JOINT. A mighty six foot trip in shades of yellow and gray. 24" x 6 feet. *Only* **1.98**

P840. Andrew Wyeth: CHRISTINA'S WORLD. *Magnificent collotype from* the Museum of Modern Art: harvest colors on fine art stock. 28½" x 40". *Only* **7.49**

P280. WOODSTOCK—WE ARE ONE. *Superb photo-montage of the* Woodstock Festival in monochrome with green lettering. 23" x 35". *Only* **1.00**



LOVE (with a Band-aid). In lavender & broken orange heart; 22" x 35".

P195. MAILER for MAYOR OF NYC. Full color Mailer-Breslin poster—map of NYC as the 51st STATE. 24" x 36½". *Special* **1.98**

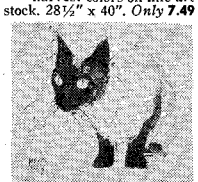
P148. Hug: TIGER. *On canvas* –lithographed in brown tones and yellows 28"x 22" *Only* **5.95**

P920. SPEED KILLS. Graphic photo portrayal. 31" x 24" *Only* **1.00**

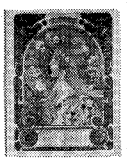
P987. DON'T TRIP. Warning, over a handsomely rendered banana peel; shades of green & banana yellow. 22" x 35". *Special* **1.00**

P159. LE SOLEIL—Tarot Card XVIIII. "The Sun," 19th card of arcana; mustard green & blue. 24¼" x 37¾". *Special* **1.00**

P220. INNOCENCE IS INVULNERABLE. John and Yoko in dayglo chartreuse, purple, orange and black. 19¼" x 26" *Only* **1.98**



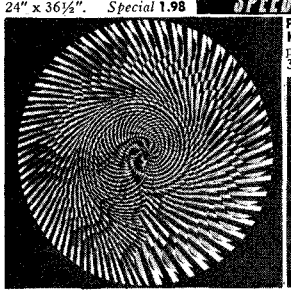
P830. Hug: THE CAT. *On Genuine Artists' Canvas*—delightful Siamese cat in tones of brown, yellow and cream. 29¼" x 22¼". *Special* **5.95**



P296. Mucha: ZODIAC. In muted golds, creams, reds, zodiac circlet in pale blues & greens. 22" x 28". *Only* **1.49**

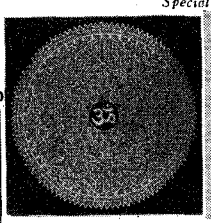
P285. WHO NEEDS YOU. Mad Magazine poster in red, white & blue. 23" x 29". *Only* **1.98**

P307. HAIR—"THE DAWNING OF THE AGE OF AQUARIUS." Full color, muted browns predominate. 21" square. *Only* **1.98**



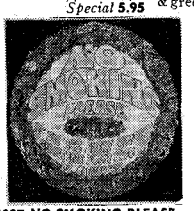
P217. HYPNO-MANDALA. *Huge hypnotic swirl in dayglo* red, yellow, blue, on a purple background. 20¼" square. *Only* **1.00**

P202. EXHIBITION. Actors *Playhouse production of* Spiering's "Exhibition"; purple, blue, green, black. 23" x 37". *Only* **1.00**



P119. OM MANDALA. Sacred Hindu meditation symbol in gorgeous deep greens and gold, on heavy stock. 24" square. *Only* **1.98**

P241. TEOREMA. Poster for controversial, Vatican-denounced, Pasolini film; brilliant dayglo orange & red with black. 29"x32". *Only* **1.98**



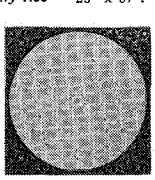
P237. NO SMOKING PLEASE . . "By the Way, every Cigarette shortens Your Life by 13 Minutes"; dayglo-brite lemon yellow, cerise, green, blue, orange on matte black. 21¼" square. *Only* **1.98**

P879. Picasso: TOREADOR. White line drawing on matte black background. 26" x 35". *Only* **1.49**

P101. LONDON ZOO. In black on white; on coated stock. 26" x 40". *Only* **2.95**

P872. Lorin Gillette: FREE. Nude, setting sun and waves; coated stock. 15½" x 21½". *Only* **1.98**

P219. CREATION OF BUTTERFLIES. *Flashing dayglo* hues of yellow, orange, cerise, blue and green on matte black. 23⅝" x 25¾". *Only* **1.98**



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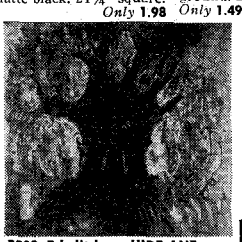

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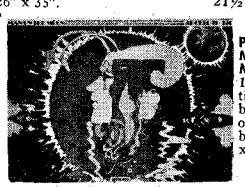

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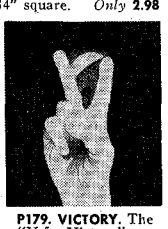

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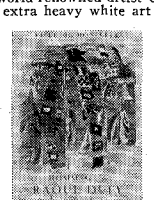

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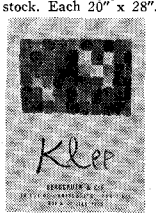

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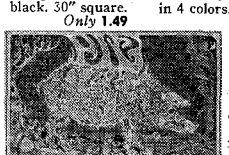

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"They" Did It

Mr. Nixon, it seems to us, is playing Daddy Warbucks again. It's these war protestors. They are trying to get him down, our great American folk hero, but we know in our heart that they can't. Sometimes it is a sinister foreign force. Sometimes it is a loathesome longhaired lout. Currently the two are in cahoots – the slant-eyed evil one (Pham Van Dong) and the besotted native longhairs. Mr. Nixon is trying to isolate the latter – the protestors – and equate them with lack of patriotism. Any right-thinking American child can see at a glance what trouble they mean for poor, vacant-eyed Little Orphan Annie. But Our Annie (the Middle Class Ethic) will save him! And dear, devoted Sandy (Spiro Agnew) will bark "Arf."

It's a nice scenario and, unfortunately, some of the amateur militants are aching to help Mr. Nixon out. They don't really want revolution; they want to infuriate their elders, to outrage them. They play right into Daddy Warbucks' hands.

It is terribly hard to know what Mr. Nixon's plan really is. He tells us that he has an orderly but secret timetable. We belong to the school that thinks he is talking tough but is really planning to pull out – fairly promptly – in accordance with political realities. If so we don't object to the plan too much. We wonder, sometimes, if the whole public record of Mr. Nixon doesn't point to the next stage of his handling of the biggest problem of his Administration and that what he has done in the past he will do again: create a fictitious adversary (the war protestors perhaps), argue that they are a small minority, pull out of Vietnam and then turn national resentment and humiliation for defeat away from himself and on to those unpatriotic elements who betrayed the nation. Well, that could be the script. "North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States," he said, November 3. "Only Americans can do that."

Let's glance down the record for a minute. Twenty years ago it was the traitors in the State Department who gave China away to the Reds. It was Dean Acheson who nearly lost Korea to the Communists. Closer at hand it is the "vocal minority" who keep on joggling the boat in Vietnam.

Or take certain domestic matters, the book by Kevin Phillips (*The Emerging Republican Majority*). As Andrew Hacker points out in his review in *Commentary*, the essence of the Southern strategy is to get Wallace supporters to vote Republican by the bogey of Black Power – "For only if Southern blacks become more dominant in Democratic politics," Hacker writes, "will Southern whites flee to a Republican haven." Phillips gives it a sanitized name, "ethnic polarization." Hacker says it means white fear of the black presence.

Phillips himself writes: "Ethnic polarization is a longstanding hallmark of American politics, not an unprecedented and menacing development of 1968." That makes it all hunkydory, and Phillips is ensconced in the Justice Department.

Another instance appears in *The New Yorker*, in a fine series of articles by Richard Harris. He defends Ramsey Clark, surely one of the best attorneys general in history. In the campaign Mr. Nixon made law and order his domestic theme and attacked Clark all over the country. Mr. Harris writes:

"Apparently, Nixon himself did not enjoy his attacks on the Attorney General. 'Ramsey Clark is really a fine fellow,' he said to his closest associates during the campaign. 'And he's done a good job.' In the view of one of the candidate's top advisers, the candidate had felt compelled to use this 'simplistic approach' to stir up the voters."

Mr. Harris adds – "But in the view of a former official of the Eisenhower Administration that explanation did not go deep enough. 'Whenever Dick finds himself in trouble, he always personalizes the issue,' he explained. 'In this case, crime was the issue and Clark was the person.' "

The issue now, of course, is Vietnam, and we assume that Mr. Nixon will "personalize" it, too, if the going gets tough. The Vice President has started already. In fairness it must be said that the President's task is not easy; he didn't begin the war and will be under attack no matter what he does. Indeed, it is nothing short of amazing that the violent argument over the war is no longer about getting out – but how soon.

Ramsey Clark differed from Attorney General Mitchell: he fought for a school desegregation, opposed wiretapping, declined to prosecute under the federal conspiracy law (almost certainly unconstitutional) which has brought the raucous "Chicago Eight" trial, and would have no truck with "preventive detention" (Mitchell's plan to put suspects in prison before trial, without bail. Probably unconstitutional, too).

The current Nixon-Mitchell crime-control program in Congress is built around a dozen legalistic shortcuts, or gimmicks, based on the popular theory that courts have been coddling criminals. If we just crack down (particularly in the you-know-where neighborhoods) crime will go away. What a wonderful dream, and how *cheap*.

Alas, three Presidential commissions deny there is an easy solution. Take the latest report from a body under Dr. Milton Eisenhower, just published: he says we should "double" the $5 billion annually we now spend fighting crime. More judges, more police, better prisons, a correctional system that works. . . . You don't like crime? – Well, do you dislike it enough to pay higher taxes?

Finally, we ran across this letter to the editor of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the other day from one, Bill G. Aldridge. In part, "When the vocal minority advocated the belief that the earth was round instead of flat, who supported the view of a flat earth? The silent majority! When the vocal minority proposed that the sun, and not the earth, was at the center of our solar system, who offered death or imprisonment to those who held this view? The silent majority! When the German Reich systematically murdered six million Jews, what group of German people gave silent support to their Government? The silent majority!" Selah.

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Contents

9-11 Comment
Poor Children, Beating the Feds
11 Swiss Cheese – *Ralph Nader*
13 Set a Deadline for Withdrawal! – *Senator Charles E. Goodell*
14 The Nixon Watch: Struggle for Neatness – *John Osborne*
15 The Pope's Firm Hand – *Roy Meachum*
17 New Hope for Latin America? – *David Ross*
19 Arab Commandos – *William H. Dorsey, Jr.*
22 Theater – *Stanley Kauffmann*
23 Books – Reviews by *Reed Whittemore, Clarence Brown*
24 Poem – *Richard Snyder*
27 Correspondence

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Poor Children

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides money for "educationally disadvantaged" – poor – children. It is the largest of the federal programs for schools, costing over a billion dollars a year, which is something like a third of the entire budget of the US Office of Education. When people say that America is spending heavily on the education of poor children, they are talking about Title I. Now the Washington Research Project and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund have issued a terse report suggesting that millions never reached the intended destination. The report shows that for many disadvantaged children, Title I is a fraud. The authors interviewed parents and state and local officials in a scattered sample of states, but much of the most disturbing material they unearthed comes from audits of Title I projects made over the last four years for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and never officially released.

Title I money is supposed to help individual poor children academically; it is a supplement to local school budgets, above and beyond ordinary expenses. HEW audits, however, show that the funds frequently fall like rain, on rich and poor alike. Sometimes the money goes to schools where the children aren't even eligible; sometimes it gets soaked up by state and local administrative budgets; often it buys services made available to all children in a district. For instance, several school districts in Fresno, California, transferred $930,000 of Title I money to the county superintendent for a county-wide instructional television system which served all children in the county, not just the poor. Another typical case: in Louisiana, 23 parishes loaned equipment costing $645,624, paid for by Title I, to schools that weren't eligible for that money; HEW auditors noted that much of the "loaned" equipment was "set in concrete or fastened to the plumbing."

Contrary to the intent of Congress, authorities spend the money on services to schools they ought to be providing with their own funds; they sometimes use it to pay for programs that once were financed with state and local funds. In South Carolina, two to three million dollars a year is being invested in classrooms and libraries for segregated schools, facilities which white schools in the state are given routinely out of local funds. Thus Title I money becomes a weapon

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against integration. Sometimes the weapon is employed crudely: Southern school authorities have threatened black children with loss of Title I services – free lunches, medical care, and clothing – if they try to transfer to white schools.

Apart from its doubts about the competence and good faith of state school establishments, the report reflects a disenchantment with the education profession itself. It has no pedagogical ax to grind, but it documents with mounting skepticism the extraordinary penchant of our educational bureaucrats for spending money on hardware, construction, physical plant, and educational gimmicks, instead of on teachers and children. Patton Lane High School in South Panola County, Mississippi is a caricature of this: Title I funds bought 12 television sets, tape recorders and film strip projectors for every two or three classrooms, several 16mm projectors, library and textbooks, dictaphones, bank statement machines, three calculators, 10 adding machines, 10 electric typewriters, a deep-fryer, glasses and trays for the cafeteria, uniforms ($9000 worth), instruments (including a piano), sheet music, choir robes, a bedroom suite for the home ec department, sewing machines, and a china cupboard. A whole cast of mind was revealed in a statement made to HEW auditors by officials of Washington, D.C. schools which spent their Title I money on redoing the walls. Since "the project was oriented toward the needs of schools rather than identifying the needs of students," they said, "there was no way to determine whether any educational benefits had accrued to the students as a result of the project."

Some of the most important lobbyists for educational legislation have been the textbook publishers and the education industries. Understating the matter, the report says, "The . . . producers have influenced the manner in which Title I funds have been used as much as, if not more than, the professional educators." In many cases the edbiz draws up Title I proposals that create a demand for its own products. (Nor are the academics cut out. Columbus, Ohio paid Ohio State University $317,565 to "evaluate" its Title I projects; to HEW auditors, the main point of the research was to provide grist for the Ph.D. mill.)

Title I regulations oblige local school districts to involve parents and community representatives in the design of Title I programs. This is nearly universally ignored. A Waukegan, Illinois school administrator told interviewers that the administration there knows "everything" – what reason then for community involvement? The report does not touch on the tangled issue of community control, but it documents the need in most school systems for representatives of the poor to speak for poor parents. (In Bakersfield, California, where 22 percent of the children in the schools are Spanish-speaking, the authorities refuse to fund a bilingual program under Title I.) The specific concerns of the report precluded detailed consideration of community control. Community action programs have usually proved to be more responsive to the poor than Title I programs run by the educators. The report offers convincing arguments for Title I advisory boards with powers of supervision and review of programs. If review boards did exist the public would have learned about the Title I mess a lot sooner.

The massive misuse of funds stems in large measure, the report claims, from inadequate administration of the law. Federal officials have been lethargic. The Office of Education has no regular procedures for monitoring what happens to Title I money. HEW audits show that over the years, millions of dollars have been spent illegally; yet the Office of Education has tried to get its money back in only three instances. (The Louisiana schools that blew their Title I money on two swimming pools are still enjoying them without any threats from OE.) A welcome recent indication that the OE can act when it wants is the decision by US Education Commissioner James Allen to freeze a number of 1970 Title I projects in Mississippi, pending a review of that state's innumerable violations.

Hard problems beset anyone trying to administer the law: the confusing layers of authority, lack of any focus of responsibility for making sure the money goes to the poor, late and uncertain patterns of federal funding, and the scarcity of staff in most state education departments. The report does not speak to ways of getting around local bureaucracies, although there is a hint of one avenue in its suggestion that where state and local officials are unable or unwilling to operate effective Title I programs, the money be turned over to alternative "vehicles." (Nonprofit private organizations, for example, are helping migrant workers' children whom the states aren't reaching.)

The report's authors have risked opening up old wounds inflicted in the battles for federal aid to education; they have risked giving new ammunition to the enemies of Title I. But they made the right decision. "We have decided," they explain, "to pursue our efforts because ultimately it is educationally deprived children who will be held accountable for the federal investment. All the tests . . . will be administered to poor children, not to school administrators or to state and federal officials."

The report does not state precisely how much money is being frittered away, misapplied, or stolen; that information awaits an extensive congressional inquiry, which ought to come. But it presents enough evidence to suggest that compensatory education has *not* been accurately weighed in the balance and found wanting. Somebody's thumb is on the scale.

All this gives rise to a strong suspicion that, by and large, state educational bureaucracies lack the ability to administer educational programs. (Most observers would list the state authorities in New York, New

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Jersey and California as exceptions.) The report says: "The states' unwillingness or inability to administer a large federal program according to the law and in the best interests of poor children should deter any trend to give the states more control over programs, as advocates of 'bloc grants' urge." From this perspective, revenue-sharing among the states without close federal supervision looks like a folly of the highest order. It should be added that the requirements of Title I do not impose onerous bureaucratic restrictions on local school systems. No one in Washington tells the local authorities how to use Title I money. They have a remarkably free hand with it. They were expected to know how to play the hand. We all thought the money was going to poor children. We were wrong.

Beating the Feds

The ignominious collapse of his John F. Kennedy assassination "conspiracy" case last spring did nothing to loosen District Attorney Jim Garrison's hold on the loyalties of his constituents. Each new attack seemed only to strengthen the people of New Orleans' faith in him. The six-foot-six DA rode that faith last week to a third four-year term, winning 54 percent of the votes in the Democratic primary. He faces only token Republican opposition.

Ward heelers and professional politicos have found they can get along with the one-time "crusader against vice." No mayoral candidate endorsed Garrison, but most of them refused to criticize him either. Indeed, Garrison might have welcomed more opposition, for his campaign appeals consistently stressed the "powerful interests" he claimed were fighting his reelection, particularly the national press and "the federal government." The latter was probably his most effective vote-getter. Resentment against "Washington" still runs high in the South, kept alive by continuing pressure for school integration (unlike Mississippi, Louisiana was granted little relief by the Nixon Administration).

Putting together an almost unbeatable coalition of blacks (who consider him non-racist) and lower to middle-class whites; facing lackluster and often inept opponents; skillfully capitalizing on Southern hostility toward "Washington" and local resentment against the Eastern Establishment press; doggedly insisting that he *had* discovered the true murderers of John Kennedy (the CIA and the "warfare-industrial complex") and would still, someday and somehow, prove it – Big Jim was a shoo-in. "Conspiracy" defendant Shaw knows what awaits him – another trial, for alleged perjury during his first trial; the rest of New Orleans, and as much of the nation as cares any longer, can only wait and wonder.

Swiss Cheese

The President's consumer message, delivered to Congress on October 30, has all the earmarks of a J. Walter Thompson production. The President calls it a "buyer's bill of rights," but it turns out to be a buyer's bill of goods. Someone, presumably Mr. Nixon's consumer adviser, Mrs. Virginia Knauer, knows what troubles consumers, for the message does recognize important consumer issues. But the remedies are weak or wrong. Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans and White House aides, including Bryce Harlow (a former anti-consumer lobbyist), Peter Flanigan and Richard Burress, reduced to nullity one laudable proposal after another during the strained and often sharp fighting that went on before the final draft was finished.

In section after section, the message proves disappointing. The federal consumer class action proposal is made contingent on a "successful government action" to prevent "harassment of legitimate businessmen." This is a creative emasculation; it makes a class of aggrieved consumers wait until a government action is successfully concluded, before going to the federal courts to secure justice for themselves. Apart from the delay and apart from whether the government chooses or has the resources to take important consumer fraud or injury cases, to hold up essentially procedural rights of easier access to the federal courts on such a political contingency is reflective of the politics that turned the message into swiss cheese.

The President proposes setting up a new Consumer Protection Division in the Department of Justice, with

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investigative powers and authority to intervene on behalf of consumers before federal agencies and to appear in certain judicial proceedings. At a press conference, Assistant Attorney General Richard McLaren said that the Division's staff would include about 50 professionals, but would start with about 20. Since the Department still hasn't filled the single existing post of consumer counsel, even that modest staffing can be viewed skeptically. More important, the new Division was preferred to an independent agency of consumer protection that would have broader powers and resources. Since the Justice Department is the lawyer for government agencies, conflicts of interest between various arms of the Department and the Consumer Division are bound to arise. When the controversies are of great moment, consumer protection will get less attention than the mega-corporations and trade associations with their indentured regulatory agencies.

What does this "buyer's bill of rights" promise for consumer education, and the release to the public of information about government-tested products? The consumer's need to know what he's paying for, his need to be able to choose more wisely is recognized. But it is then torpedoed by the recommendation for "disseminating general information" produced by government from its tests of products it procures, such as drugs, light bulbs, detergents, appliances, electrical equipment, blankets and tires. The key word here is *general*. For well over a year, memos have been circulating between the White House, Bureau of the Budget and the rest of the Executive Branch on releasing *specific* test information, by brand name. The Johnson Administration prepared a report that favored such disclosure, and some officials – Secretary of HEW Wilbur Cohen, for one – vigorously supported it. The Nixon message ended any hope that will be done.

The National Commission on Product Safety has been holding hearings and gathering evidence on the large number of products that are harming hundreds of thousands of people in their homes, because of inadequate design or construction – from color TV sets to washing machines, power lawn mowers, glass doors, toys. The Commission will complete its two-year statutory tenure next year. The Nixon message declares that its labors will be carried on under surveillance by Mrs. Knauer's office, and some vague new legislation.

References to further studies (guarantees and warranties, consumer finance), assurances of future action but without any specifics (OEO activity for poor consumers, aid to states and localities) and the absence of long-awaited regulation of medical devices and safety equipment further illustrates the Administration's anemia on consumer matters. A sleeper in the message, designed to give the government's imprimatur to testing by private laboratories or groups, paves a way for conferring quasi-official status on industry's own standard-setting bodies. The President would let companies advertise the governmental imprimatur on the testing group that they, the companies, retain. This has long been wanted by industry's technical societies.

There *are* some unequivocal proposals in the message. Mr. Nixon reiterates former Administration suggestions that the Federal Trade Commission be empowered to seek preliminary injunctions against unfair or deceptive business practices; it clarifies the FTC's jurisdiction over consumer abuses that "affect" interstate commerce. Mrs. Knauer is instructed to develop a *Consumer Bulletin,* which will publish notices of hearings, proposed rules, final orders and other pertinent information in language intelligible to Americans who do not belong to the tight-knit Washington world of bureaucrats and lobbyists.

Mrs. Knauer's office would become permanent by statute, if the President's recommendation is accepted by Congress. But she is still limping along with a tiny professional staff of under two dozen, and the prospects for more funding do not envision breaking the $1 million a year barrier. Outwardly, Mrs. Knauer has played the good team sport. It will be more difficult, however, for her to simulate satisfaction when she testifies this month before Congress on Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal's bill to establish an independent consumer protection agency with a beginning staff of 1000 consumer defenders. The agency Congressman Rosenthal has in mind would process consumer complaints in the manner of an ombudsman; it would have power to investigate consumer abuses by corporate and governmental institutions, develop new ideas and prototype hardware for safer products, research serious servicing problems, and innovate computerized ways to reach consumers with product and market facts they can use when they are actually at the point of buying something. The agency, proposed in legislation shortly to be introduced by Rosenthal with the probable initial support of at least 100 congressmen, would have no regulatory powers. It would not attract lobbyists. Rather it would be a comprehensively staffed consumers' advocate before regulatory agencies (utility rates, safety standards, anti-pollution standards, freight and passenger rates, customer service) and government departments.

For a Republican Administration and its backers, President Nixon's consumer message may seem a big step forward. But to millions of consumers who are regularly being bilked, and whose health and safety are being impaired by shoddy products and poor service, the White House's entry amounts to timid tiptoeing.

Ralph Nader

MR. NADER *recently was named the first recipient of* The New Republic's *annual Public Defender award.*

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Set a Deadline for Withdrawal!

The President has announced that he does not intend to be the first American President to lose a war, but the Vietnam war is not his to win or lose. This war was "lost" by his predecessors when they involved us in a purposeless conflict, the origins and nature of which they never understood.

On September 25, I introduced in the Senate, S. 3000, "The Vietnam Disengagement Act." The bill provides that no funds may be expended to support the presence of American military personnel in Vietnam after December 1, 1970. It sets a fixed, public timetable of one year to accomplish the total withdrawal of all our military personnel, but it would permit the continuation of appropriate military and economic aid to the South Vietnamese government, as recommended by the President and approved by Congress.

The human, economic and other costs of prolonging our unconscionable military presence in Vietnam outweigh, I deeply believe, any benefits which could possibly result from our continued presence there for an indefinite time. While there are risks attendant to complete withdrawal, these are smaller than the risks and costs of any policy of extended troop commitment.

Notice to the South Vietnamese government that we are withdrawing our forces within one year will create a powerful incentive for that government to mobilize its forces more effectively and to seek the political strength of a broadened popular base.

As the foreign intruder, we have polarized the political situation in the South, and driven many nationalist elements toward the NLF. Our withdrawal is likely to help foster a depolarization that would create a favorable environment for a genuine political settlement.

In his November 3 speech, the President argued that a fixed withdrawal date would remove any incentive for the enemy to negotiate in Paris. He admits, however, that there has been no movement whatever in the Paris talks. A fixed withdrawal timetable could hardly make these stalemated talks more stalemated.

The President contends that a fixed withdrawal timetable would enable the enemy "simply to wait until our forces have withdrawn and then move in." The South Vietnamese army has over a million men under arms. The Vietcong has only about 100,000, and the North Vietnamese army has only 110,000 men in the South. American withdrawal may require the South Vietnamese army to adopt a more defensive strategy aimed at protecting the populous areas – and to abandon its objectives of controlling the entire countryside. To assume, however, that such a large army could simply be overrun by a relatively ill-armed and much smaller enemy assumes that the President's own plan for "Vietnamization" likewise would have little or no chance for success in the foreseeable future.

The President places great stress on the notion that a "bloodbath" would occur in South Vietnam if our troops were swiftly withdrawn. An even greater bloodbath, however, is occuring now. American bombing raids and artillery have been killing Vietnamese by the hundreds of thousands. Beyond that, the South Vietnamese government is conducting its own political assassinations. Saigon radio reported that by December 31, 1968 – one year after its inception – the joint Saigon-US "Phoenix" program for killing NLF village officials had caused the death of 18,393 persons.

It is difficult to judge how the Communists would act if they were to take control of South Vietnam. There would be some reprisals, certainly. Yet a persuasive case can be made that it would be contrary to the Communists' self-interest to initiate large-scale violence against the civilian population, thereby diminishing their ability to unite the widely disparate elements of South Vietnamese society. It is of interest to note that from 1955 to 1961, the French and the Diem regime submitted only 43 complaints to the International Control Commission alleging political reprisals by the Communists in North Vietnam.

The "bloodbath" argument also rests on the questionable assumption, discussed earlier, that the South Vietnamese army would be powerless to prevent a complete Communist take-over of the South.

What will happen if the enemy decides to re-escalate the fighting and increase American casualties by this spring? We can only look with trepidation on the ominous suggestion that Mr. Nixon will in that event take "strong and effective measures" – presumably of counter-escalation.

The fundamental defect of the President's plan is that it makes the pace of our withdrawal dependent upon factors wholly beyond our control, thus continuing the old approach under which the United States, instead of having a viable policy of its own, merely responds to the initiatives of the enemy. It is time to stop postponing our withdrawal until our adversaries change their minds. It is time for the South Vietnamese to take over responsibility for protecting themselves. In short, it is time that we make up our minds to get out by a certain date, and then get out.

Senator Charles E. Goodell

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The Nixon Watch

Struggle for Neatness

A few days after a reorganization of the White House staff was announced on November 4, I remarked to one of the assistants who was affected by it that an event of this kind has meaning for most people only in the sense and to the extent that it tells something about Mr. Nixon. What, if anything, did this one signify in terms of the President – his approach to policy, his view of his job? The assistant thought the question over and replied as follows: "Policy? It doesn't mean a thing in terms of policy. Sure, Pat Moynihan is a liberal Democrat, the only one around here, and he goes up. Arthur Burns is a conservative, and he's going out (if you can say that becoming chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is 'going out'). But Bryce Harlow and John Ehrlichman are conservative types, and they are going up. If I had to read a meaning into this, I guess I'd say that it's the biggest thing that's happened so far in the President's continuing struggle for neatness."

The staff changes were aimed at bringing to the formulation and execution of domestic policy the sort of neatness that Henry A. Kissinger, the President's assistant for national security affairs, appears to Mr. Nixon to have achieved on the foreign policy side. The man chosen to accomplish this improbable domestic miracle is John D. Ehrlichman, hitherto White House Counsel and now Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs. The White House announcement said that he "will advise the President on domestic policy and be responsible for White House operations in all substantive matters concerning domestic affairs." Daniel P. Moynihan, previously the assistant for urban affairs and executive secretary of the Cabinet-level Urban Affairs Council, and Bryce N. Harlow, the assistant for congressional relations, become "Counsellors to the President, with Cabinet rank." Their primary function will be "to anticipate events, to think through the consequences of current trends, to question conventional wisdom, to address fundamentals and to stimulate long-range innovation." Six other assistants, variously titled and already on the staff, are to form and head, under Ehrlichman's direction, temporary "project groups" which will "conduct research and present policy options to the President." Every policy recommendation that requires the President's approval or disapproval, whether it originates within the White House system, anywhere in the vast complex of domestic departments and agencies, or from numerous unofficial study groups that are always at work on policy problems, is to reach Mr. Nixon only after it has been thoroughly staffed out by the Ehrlichman team and cleared by Ehrlichman himself. The two new Counsellors, Cabinet officers and the heads of major independent agencies may submit ideas, orally or in writing, directly to the President, but only if they do not call for his formal approval or disapproval in a way affecting basic policy. After material policy matters, domestic or foreign, have been through the Ehrlichman and Kissinger mills, they must still – as in the past – survive the scrutiny of H. R. (Bob) Haldeman, the President's managerial chief of staff, and his small secretariat.

The new element in Mr. Nixon's "struggle for neatness" is the sweeping power of review and initial selection now granted to the Assistant for Domestic Affairs. Who, then, is John Ehrlichman? Perhaps more to the point, who was he before he turned up at the Nixon White House? The available answers are interesting because they come to so very little. He is a Christian Scientist, aged 44, a stocky and personable and manifestly intelligent lawyer from Seattle. He specialized there in zoning and land-use law. He is said to have been extremely competent and successful at it. A Republican, he took no discernible interest and no part in the politics of Seattle and Washington State although his uncle, Ben Ehrlichman, is a rich and active Republican who ranks with the state party's five or six biggest money-raisers. Youngish Republicans of John Ehrlichman's generation worked mightily to get Dan Evans, one of their kind, elected governor of the state in 1964. As Evans and the others frequently reflect nowadays, John Ehrlichman stood aside. Evans barely knows him, even now, and one of the state's highest Republican officials met Ehrlichman for the first time at the White House just the other day. Reporters searching for something positive to say of his earlier phase have noted that as a lawyer he represented conservationist groups against land despoilers. Ehrlichman has the grace to be slightly embarrassed, explaining that he did this in only two cases of any importance and, far more often, represented clients on the other side. His experience with urban zoning taught him that real estate practices have a good deal to do with the plight of slum dwellers and aroused a certain sympathy for the urban poor, but he disclaims any strong ideological bent along this or any other line.

Why was he the political neuter that he cheerfully admits he was in his home city and state? Ehrlichman answered my question for quotation, something he rarely does. What the first part of his answer came down to was that his interest is not in politics as such, Republican or otherwise, but in Richard Nixon. At the urging of Bob Haldeman, whom he had known at college in California, Ehrlichman took leave from his law practice for six months to work for Nixon in the Presidential campaign of 1960. He has helped, mostly as a tour organizer, in every Nixon campaign since, includ-

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ing Nixon's interim campaigning for Republican state and congressional candidates. In that work, Ehrlichman says, "I had all the political satisfaction I needed, and I had all the political activity my practice could stand." The second part of his answer was: "I had the kind of law practice where I had to avoid political animosities because I was dealing in most of the courthouses in the state of Washington, particularly in western Washington, and they were mostly Democrats, and I was also dealing with senators and congressmen."

Nixon's yen for neatness was apparent before he took office. Kissinger's success in creating the appearance of it in the foreign policy process strengthened the President's conviction that it ought to be attainable, somehow, on the domestic side, and his growing impression that Ehrlichman was the man to achieve it for him has been evident for months. An authoritative account of the President's feelings on the subject tells more about Mr. Nixon than the changes and new appointments do in themselves, and it runs as follows.

Early on, it is said at the White House, Nixon got and resented a feeling that sizable staffs working under various assistants were busy with duplicating and overlapping ideas, proposals, programs. A variety of options, and strong advocacy of those options, were good things in themselves, but it increasingly seemed to the President that there was an excess of both. He came to feel that a lot of time in the echelons below him, and a lot of his own time, was needlessly lost in resolving that excess of conflicting viewpoints. The several Cabinet sub-groups that he had instituted and announced with pride – the Urban Affairs Council, a Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy, an Environmental Council – seemed to him to be compounding disorder rather than producing the ordered flow he had anticipated. A tentative and limited grant of authority to Ehrlichman in early March to coordinate the incoming mass of program paper helped some, but not enough. A small Domestic Affairs Council, set up without fanfare at the turn of May-June, became the vehicle for trial-and-error stabs at the fuller coordination and concentration of program preparation that Nixon sought.

On a Saturday afternoon toward the end of his California interlude in August and September, the President spent 3½ hours chewing at the problem with Ehrlichman and urging him to get something definitive and workable done about it. Nixon said during this conversation that he had spent many hours discussing techniques of policy formulation with Henry Kissinger and simply couldn't believe that a domestic process at least roughly equivalent to Kissinger's could not be devised. Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Bryce Harlow and others produced some recommendations soon after the return from California. They coincided in some respects with the suggestions of an executive commission studying governmental organization as a whole. Nixon said in effect in late October – *enough*, let's do *something* – and out came this elaborate reach for a neatness that Mr. Nixon wants, will continue to want and, predictably, will never get.

John Osborne

Governing the Church

The Pope's Firm Hand

Rome

The Extraordinary Synod of Bishops that has just ended sounded very much like another assembly reluctantly convened by a ruler fearful of revolution, Louis XVI of France. In the manner of the noble clerics, honorable lords and assorted gentry who began every speech critical of the regime by protesting unswerving loyalty to the Bourbon throne, no synod bishop in Rome these past weeks raised his voice against the titular supremacy of Paul VI, even when attacking the appurtenances of papal power – the curia, nuncios and *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper.

As the French assembly met only after there had been revolutionary acts among the peasants, Paul did not convene the synod until last year's "Humanae Vitae," the birth control encyclical, brought into public view major differences inside the Roman Catholic Church. But simply agreeing to an assembly did not avert the French Revolution, even though Louis XVI attended the first session and made a speech praised for its moderation and progressive view, just as the pope received acclaim for his presence at most synod meetings and for public comments that supported the idea of collegiality, the sharing of responsibility and authority between the bishops and the Vatican.

The bishops left here with nothing for the priests and people who had been led to expect some sort of resolution of the church crisis. Liberal prelates had indicated that issues like celibacy, birth control and the election of future bishops would be fought over in the meetings; they were scarcely mentioned. All that was accomplished was that machinery was set up to provide the machinery that some day might bring reforms.

The pope agreed the synod should meet at least every two years. That was a concession. There had been synods in past church history, but slow transportation and communications made it impossible for fairly regular, short-term conferences. Synods took months to assemble. The bishops stayed on for months. Only in the age of the airplane and telephone has it been

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possible to consider the idea of scheduled meetings at frequent intervals, so that church problems in different parts of the world can be discussed by the prelates collectively, rather than the bishops being forced to depend upon the curia as a clearing house.

Reform-minded bishops dislike the idea that some of their communications to Rome might be censored by the nuncio or, as in the United States, the apostolic delegate. They also resent that most marital matters, particularly those involving mixed marriages, must be referred to the Roman rota for decisions. When they tried at the last synod to get some delegation of this authority assigned them, they were told that only the Holy Father could make such decisions. They subsequently learned that the real authority was exercised by a single monsignor.

Having no control over the agenda for this conference, liberals sat helplessly as almost the entire first week was given over to a discussion of the theory of collegiality. Those first days took the steam out of most bishops who were looking for action. The speeches were halted finally by the three American astronauts, who showed slides and answered questions on the moon landing. Only one cardinal asked Neil Armstrong how the trip to the moon had affected his relationship with God. Apparently prepared for the question, Armstrong answered indirectly by talking about the Vatican's art treasures as expressing the glory of the works of man, while the French countryside as seen from his train was evidence of the wonders of God's work. The prelate did not ask for a clarification.

This extraordinary synod was remarkably like the first session of Vatican II, when the conservatives also controlled the agenda. Then, too, the attention and time of the church fathers were so concentrated on semantics and abstractions that Boston's Richard Cardinal Cushing packed up and left. "I can do more damned good raising money to build hospitals and schools, than hanging around here," the crusty cardinal reportedly said.

After the first general sessions, the synod bishops broke up into nine smaller work groups, according to languages. Most of their reports, as delivered at a later general meeting, were balanced between the various viewpoints so as to give strong expression to none. Only the Latin and Italian panels came out strongly for letting the pope keep on running the church any way he sees fit, without any concession to collegiality and none to the present issues dividing the church. (In addition to the nature of collegiality and some attempt to work out its practical exercise, the synod also discussed and voted on proposals to make the church more active in the world. New York's Cardinal Cooke proposed, and his fellow bishops accepted the idea, of a new international church agency to work for social justice. Finding the money to support the work will be the task of a special committee.)

While he remained silent in the general sessions he attended, except for one "I am here" answer to a prelate's entreaty for his presence, Paul managed to get in four speeches in 18 days. Each time he emphasized his own supremacy, though paying some homage to the concept of collegiality. He came down hard on the fact that the bishops were meeting by his invitation; he made clear that any proposals would be considered only in terms of his right to accept or reject them.

"I'm an observer only," Paul told pilgrims in a general audience. Then he proceeded to attack all those who sought reform in the name of bringing the church up-to-date. The fault was not in the church, he said, but in the critics who should turn their thoughts to the decadence and immorality of the times. On another occasion he delivered a highly emotional affirmation of his position on celibacy. Some insisted he was speaking not to the bishops, but against the rebel Assembly of European Priests. But that gathering of 127 clergymen from eight European countries had proved so ineffectual as not to be worth a papal rebuke. They had arrived in Rome promising a seven-point manifesto. The communication from Paul denying them an audience mentioned only that some of the priests were in difficulty with their bishops at home. At least one cardinal, Holland's Alfrink, told them he wished they had stayed away, they were embarrassing his efforts for practical reform. An American observer present, the Rev. John Hill of Chicago, representing the National Federation of Priests Councils, predicted the European assembly would be out of business in a year. "All they do is talk," he said. "They have no grass-roots organization, no organization at all."

Thanking the bishops, the pope in farewell promised the synod a permanent existence and regular meetings. The bishops voted the next day, by an overwhelming majority, to ask Paul to include them in his considerations. They departed with no assurance he would.

If there was one genuine leader of the "loyal opposition," it was Belgium's Leo-Joseph Cardinal Suenens. One of the many stories making the rounds was that the pope, in a private audience, told Suenens to soft-pedal his push for reforms. The next day the Belgian prelate delivered an attack on interference with national bishops' conferences by papal nuncios. Suenens was the one who castigated *L'Osservatore Romano* for allowing only one orthodoxy in the church, its own. He tried to get bishops included, along with the College of Cardinals, in the election of future popes. It was he who first conjured up the comparison with France on the eve of revolution. But Suenens was always very careful to express his fealty to the pope and appreciation that the synod had been convened at all.

Roy Meachum

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Two Cheers for the President

New Hope for Latin America?

by David Ross

The President deserves two cheers for his new Latin American policy, as revealed in a speech delivered to the Inter-American Press Association on October 31, and in remarks at the White House on November 10. We have waited a long time for it – a dangerously long time of accumulating problems and missed opportunities. But it may have been time well-spent, a necessary period of gestation. If the policy had been set earlier – before Peru, Rockefeller, and the other hemispheric crunches of 1969 – it would have been more like the warmed-over John Foster Dulles that Nixon expounded during his election campaign. His emphasis then was on aid to countries politically committed to us and to private enterprise. Now, a year later, the President has come out with something better, more creative. Precisely how creative, we shall see, for although the President devises, proposes and promotes policy, there is little he can actually do without Congress, and in this case, several foreign governments. It is certainly more creative than the new Vietnam policy he announced on November 3; and it could be the most positive development in our relations with the Third World since Harry Truman's Point IV address 20 years ago.

"Action for Progress for the Americas" is the unwieldy slogan by which Mr. Nixon hopes his program will be known. To dramatize it, he announced the "untying" of AID loans which, until now, have had to be spent almost entirely in the US. Henceforth, they will be tied to the US *and* Latin America. Of course, the competitive suppliers from whom the Latin Americans would like to take bids are Japan, France, the UK, the Germanies, and so on (not Nicaragua and Ecuador); nevertheless, the gesture is not an empty one. Not all loan funds are spent on heavy equipment, and not all of Latin America is industrially undeveloped; Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, at least, should be able to take some immediate advantage of the untying. Of greater significance in the long run is the opportunity this creates for the sort of coordinated development planning that characterizes the Central American Common Market. The smallness of domestic markets is one of the principal barriers to industrialization. If, for example, it can be agreed that Brazil will make the automobiles, Colombia the refrigerators, Peru the TV sets, the barrier is removed. The availability of AID loan funds for Latin American trade would greatly facilitate the reaching of such agreements.

There are five Nixon proposals dealing directly with trade policy, of which the partial untying of loans is only the most immediate. The suggestion for regular inter-American consultation on US trade policy costs nothing and could bring a welcome return in good will. The offer to help promote Latin American trade expansion is probably nothing but words, although Mr. Nixon doubtlessly believes that US know-how has a significant contribution to make. But the other two trade proposals have considerable potential significance. To reduce non-tariff barriers and to adopt preferential tariff rates for developing countries – these go to the very heart of the underdevelopment problem. Non-tariff barriers exist in infinite variety, but in our case they are mainly quotas on manufactured goods that compete with those we produce. Our policy has been to support the industrialization of Latin American countries until it reached the point where some of its products were marketable, and then to jam on the brakes. Thus, the ideal aid recipient, from the US point of view, has been a country which can accept development assistance indefinitely, without making any progress.

Mr. Nixon's preferential tariff is an extension of the venerable "infant industry tariff" idea. A new industry has problems of starting up and shaking down that require time to solve. During this time, so the reasoning runs, it must be protected from the competition of established industry. Once it has grown strong, competition will help to keep it healthy, and the protection can be removed. Domestically, this calls for temporary protective tariffs on the products of new industry, assuring the latter a monopoly of the local market. With many of today's underdeveloped countries, however, including most of those in Latin America, the local market is not sufficient to support one minimum-sized plant in an industry, so there is no point in protecting it. What is needed, rather, is protection in someone else's market. A common market agreement can achieve this; so can the preferential tariff.

The President says he will "lead a vigorous effort" to reduce quotas and other non-tariff barriers among the industrialized countries. But one may lead either

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by example or by exhortation. No executive action is promised, no legislative action requested to reduce our protectionist reliance on non-tariff trade restrictions.

In this omission Mr. Nixon's address faithfully reflects the spirit of the Rockefeller Report, now at last released for public inspection. Rockefeller, too, fails to attack the quota system. He only suggests that, within the system, more favoritism be shown to Latin America. Nixon's pledge to try to get other industrialized countries to go along on a general easing of these restrictions is another way of saying that we will try to look busy while being careful not to accomplish anything substantial.

In the matter of the preferential tariff, the Nixon of October 31 would press "in world trade forums . . . for a liberal system of generalized tariff preferences for all developing countries, including Latin America." This could easily become a career, like negotiating disarmament. While the thought is taken from the Rockefeller Report, it does not reflect its spirit. Recognizing that a generalized agreement among the industrial nations to grant preferences indiscriminately to developing nations is an unrealizable short-term goal, Rockefeller proposed that meanwhile the US should grant preferences to developing nations which are not already receiving special treatment from other industrial countries. The October 31 Presidential speech contained no reference to this proposal or anything similar, an omission which elicited some of the most critical response from Latin America. The Chilean Christian Democratic leader, Radomiro Tomic, for example, stated that "President Nixon's speech leaves us exactly where we were before. In principle I am for tariff preferences for all developing countries, but in practice the reality is that the European Common Market has a different policy toward Africa and will continue it."

We may perhaps someday be told what happened between October 31 and November 10. Perhaps someone pointed out to Nixon that in skimming over the Rockefeller Report he had missed a crucial point or two; perhaps Rockefeller was given an opportunity to review the speech after, but not before, it was delivered; perhaps the speech was really a trial balloon, calculated to test the feeling in Latin America for meaningful concessions on tariffs. Whatever the explanation, in introducing Rockefeller on the occasion of the publication of his report, the President expanded on his earlier statement in such a way as to give it a totally different twist. He announced that the process of bringing pressure to bear in world trade forums for a system of generalized preferences had already begun, and that if it was not successful "within a reasonable time, then the United States will be prepared to consider other alternative action it can take to assure that the American nations will have preferential access to the US market." In subsequent remarks, while standing at the President's side, the Governor indicated that a "reasonable time" in this context meant "a matter of months." This is indeed a promise of prompt and meaningful action, though it was an afterthought.

Another vague proposal in the speech which received similar treatment in subsequent remarks had to do with the growing burden of obligations arising out of past aid in the form of loans. In 1968, for example, the US made available $887.5 million in loans to its Alliance for Progress partners, but at the same time took back $422.3 million in interest and repayments, approximately cutting in half the effect of the assistance. Five Latin American nations in that year, Argentina, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Haiti, and Peru, actually paid us more than they received on loan account. No responsible person questions the validity of these obligations. They were undertaken, however, on the basis of optimistic forecasts of the growth in ability to pay that would be achieved in the 1960s, and they need to be revived, stretched out, or otherwise softened. Rockefeller recognized this need, and proposed specific action in his report; Nixon, on October 31, dismissed it with the suggestion that the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) discuss the problem with the "international lending institutions." On November 10, however, he revealed that the Secretary of the Treasury had been instructed to develop the "imaginative" Rockefeller proposal for debtors – maintaining a development fund of local currencies in instances where debtor countries' dollar repayments are either suspended or stretched out.

The most interesting thing in the Nixon program about the role of private investment is what is not said. Clearly the President feels that he cannot make a strong case for private investment in Latin American development without coming out strongly against expropriation, yet he feels constrained to tread softly on that issue. The result is that what would have been the major thrust of the Nixon policy a year or six months ago, receives only brief and passing lip service.

What remains, then, as possibly a major contribution to US policy formation, is a point which the President deals with in a fragmented fashion. It comes in the first and the last of his specific proposals. The first is that "a multilateral inter-American agency be given an increasing share of responsibility for development assistance decisions." We have always been heavily committed to bilateral aid; we make pets of certain underdeveloped countries, spooning them heavy doses of what we think is good for them, until they turn on us and bite us. At best, these bilateral relationships are embarrassing, as with Liberia, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, Colombia, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic. At worst, we have South Vietnam. Presumably, we have preferred bilateral relationships because of our

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belief that things will go better if we retain control, and that it will be nice to get the credit. Generally, however, things have gone poorly, and we have gotten the blame. Multilateralism might mean that things would go better, because the underdeveloped countries know more about what they need than we have given them credit for. If not, at least it would mean that we did not have to bear all the blame.

One of the odd features of Mr. Nixon's support for multilateralism is that he does not mention the most likely body for implementing it. He suggests CIAP, or an "entirely new agency," but omits any mention of the Inter-American Development Bank. The Bank exists for the purpose of doing what the President wants. It has the procedures and the personnel and the experience. If we really want to put our aid on a multilateral basis, nothing would be easier than to pump money into the Inter-American Development Bank. Why mention of it was omitted is a mystery.

The other specific proposal, the last of the speech, is a rejection of any US role as judge of the virtue of other governments. Some preference is expressed for democratic procedures, "but we must deal realistically with governments in the inter-American system as they are." This is immediately followed by a contrived exclusion of Cuba, giving rise to the unpalatable picture of our resuming aid to Haiti's Duvalier while continuing to withhold recognition from Castro. Once we are committed to multilateral aid, we can forget about purity tests. This is either the principal drawback or the principal advantage of multilateral aid, depending on how you pronounce it. Whether Mr. Nixon fails to see the close relationship between these two proposals, or seeks to conceal it, we may never know.

The Guerrilla War Against Israel

Arab Commandos

by William H. Dorsey, Jr.

The past few weeks in the Middle East have seen, if not the climax, then certainly a major new development in something that has been going on for a long time – the so-called "Jordanization" of Lebanon. Much of what has transpired recalls the familiar pattern seen in Vietnam, Latin America, Africa – indeed, any area in which a highly motivated and increasingly well-organized minority, in this case, the Palestine commandos – seek to gain or regain certain political and territorial rights.

The means by which the Palestine commandos achieve their aims are also well known. Lacking the military power to overcome Israel, they work instead to erode Israel's national resolve by carrying out acts of terrorism designed to make the price of continued occupation seem unacceptably high.

The commandos' approach to the Arab governments is equally a part of the literature of extremist politics. Too weak politically to constitute in themselves a threat to the established regimes, they operate by uniting political opposition groups with those elements in the country at large which discontent makes a willing tool. To the extent that the commandos are able to accomplish this synthesis, they come to represent a real "revolutionary" movement in the Middle East, against which those military bureaucracies masquerading as socialist must be on guard. The outcome of President Nasser's "mediation" in the dispute between Lebanon and the commandos suggests that the commandos won their point.

The commandos have now generated momentum to constitute a real threat, not only to Israel, but to any Arab state bordering on Israel that refuses any cooperation with them. "Palestine resistance is here to stay," said Nasser, "until the Palestine state is established. . . . We have to go along a road covered with blood."

The events in Lebanon also show that the commandos have become a force which no outside group seeking a Middle East settlement can afford to disregard. Here is not simply a question of Lebanese internal politics, or pan-Arab nationalism, or a conflict between Arab and Israeli, or the interests of the United Nations,

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the United States, France, England or the Soviet Union, but all together – and in a way which must stand as a classic example of how political relations of any sort can become internationalized.

Liberal – or "democratic" – regimes make the transition easier, probably. Abjuring extensive machines of repression, they allow new political movements to gain a foothold from which, by making use of the country's communications media, they are able to turn existing socioeconomic conditions to their political advantage. From such derives Lebanon's predicament. Its national political structure – indeed, its unity as a nation – is based not on a large paramilitary force, but on a constitution and a simple gentlemen's agreement – the National Covenant – between Muslims and Christians. Its economic structure is equally fragile. Having few natural resources, Lebanon has built up a successful service industry based on finance, tourism and transport, all of them notoriously vulnerable to fluctuations in the investment climate. Linking politics with economics are the Lebanese people: a heterodox mixture of some 2.5 million within which wealth is tending to become concentrated more and more in the hands of the Christian "establishment" while the Muslims – their ranks swelled by three waves of refugees from Palestine – have become the majority party.

The hot summer of 1968 seems a useful period from which to date the deterioration of affairs in Lebanon.

"This ought to finish him."

It was then that spokesmen for the economically deprived Palestine refugee community began to articulate the general discontent. Quickly taken up by the fiercely partisan student communities in Tripoli and Beirut, their cry moved to the front pages of Lebanon's several dozen daily newspapers and from there – accompanied by signs of mounting tension – to the center of Lebanese politics.

Issues were radically transformed along the way, however, and what had begun as a minority plea for greater opportunity became a demand for more active Lebanese participation in the Arab war effort.

Israel contributed greatly to the direction of this ominous new turn by its December 28 raid on Beirut airport. Thirteen or so Lebanese aircraft – nearly all of the civilian fleet, which to so many Lebanese was the symbol of the country's economic achievement – were destroyed. Viewed from the standpoint of Lebanon's rigorous nonalignment in the Arab-Israeli dispute and its refusal to participate in the 1967 war, such an attack seemed wholly unwarranted. Carried out at a vital communications center almost in broad daylight, it called into question the practicability of Lebanon's traditional policy of limited military armament.

Above all, it gave political groups anxious to advance their position in Lebanon a dossier of charges against which no foreseeable ministerial grouping could hope to be able to defend itself. Predictably, the four-man government of Prime Minister Abdullah Yafi fell almost immediately. The succeeding government – formed under Rashid Karami on January 23 after protracted debate – lasted 14 weeks until brought down in the wake of riots and at least 17 persons dead.

Although the Lebanese system of government, like the French, concentrates a good deal of power in the hands of the president, a sort of psychological power vacuum was created into which a number of pretenders were able to move. Within days of the fall of the Karami government there were signs of increased commando infiltration into south Lebanon. When the acting government (still under Karami) announced that their presence constituted a threat to Lebanese sovereignty, there were reports of open fighting with local security forces.

There was also evidence of a certain amount of pressure from other Arab governments. Hasan Kholy, President Nasser's personal representative, who recently completed another tour of Arab world capitals, made the first of several visits to Beirut on May 7: his brief seems to have been to impress on President Charles Helou that the Arab nations were determined to have south Lebanon opened up to the commandos. This initiative was followed up – from Iraq and Syria, at least – by what appeared to be economic pressures in the form of restrictions on trade.

With Karami (a Muslim) more or less committed to

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support the position of the commandos, it was left to President Helou (a Christian) to try to stem the tide. In a statement on June 23, he pointed out that Lebanon was in complete agreement with the aims of the Palestine commandos, and was prepared to allow the movement of Arab military personnel in Lebanon within "the framework of coordinated Arab action." But he insisted that there should be no commando bases or training grounds in Lebanon, and that those already established should be removed.

The raids and counter-raids across the Lebanese-Israeli border continued to escalate, nevertheless. Because the area was effectively barred to foreign observers, the scope of the action was difficult to determine: no statements on it were issued either in Beirut or Tel Aviv. But on August 11, Israeli Air Force jets went into action, bombing suspected commando bases in the Mount Hermon area. Both sides reported this incident (Israel was later condemned for it by the United Nations Security Council) thereby, as one observer remarked, giving "official" recognition to the new status quo. Just over three weeks later, on September 4, ground fire from the Mount Hermon area brought down an Israeli jet, the first lost over Lebanon since the 1967 war.

At this point, the big powers began to take a more active interest. Following the attempted theft of a Lebanese Air Force Mirage jet under circumstances that strongly suggested the possibility of an attempted left-wing coup, the United States declared it attached "great importance" to Lebanon's integrity, and would view any threat to it with "the greatest concern." Russia spoke of American "imperialism."

Against this background, with the renewal of heavy fighting in the south, the long-established positions of the major protagonists were quickly reaffirmed, and events began to move almost of their own accord. Rashid Karami stepped down as Prime Minister-designate, saying he could not take any responsibility for "developments" of which he did not approve: the far-left Arab governments began to increase their vituperation against the "reactionary" regime of President Helou. The chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yassir Arafat, stated that the commandos' rights in Lebanon were natural and therefore "not negotiable." President Nasser expressed his "most profound concern" over Arabs firing on Arabs "whatever the causes or justifications."

Israel, the United States and Russia – all professing keen interest – sat by, occasionally accusing each other of trying to make political capital out of the affair.

The almost inescapable logic of this chain of events is that Lebanon will be drawn more closely into the conflict with Israel. The fact that the Lebanese delegation to the talks in Cairo was led by the military commander-in-chief, Major-General Emile Boustani, strongly suggests that events have already gone beyond the reach of a purely political solution: indeed, the Lebanese government has already agreed "in principle" to an arrangement – "agreement" is too strong a word – such as prevails in Jordan. Under it, the commandos would be given almost complete control of certain areas of south Lebanon – and substantial freedom to carry out military operations against Israel from them – undertaking in return not to meddle in Lebanese domestic politics.

The effect of this readjustment on the prospects of a Middle East settlement is unclear, however. Obviously, to the extent that the Jordanization of Lebanon contributes to the opening up of another front with Israel, peace will probably not be furthered. But a vital distinction must be made between the Palestine commandos – whose activities may lead to reciprocal military actions across the Lebanese-Israeli border – and the Lebanese nation which, no matter how great the provocation, may still opt out of an open conflict.

Arguments concerning the so-called Eastern Front – a largely theoretical military force at present composed of Jordan, Iraq and Syria – are similar. Lebanon will probbly be required to give token support to it. But by design, the Lebanese military is a defensive weapon, for use against just such forces as now threaten the country. Any contribution it might make to the Eastern Front would be unlikely to affect the present disparity of Arab and Israeli military forces.

Nor is it likely that Lebanon will dissolve in civil war – as it did in 1958 when the United States saw fit to become directly involved – or will succumb to a left-wing coup. The country's interest in law and order is too strong. And although there is a deep division of opinion over how to deal – or if to deal – with the commandos, the split is more between generations than between Christian and Muslim. Changes taking place in the Lebanese party structure support this thesis. Whereas, before, there was a left-wing Muslim bloc whose prime object was to maintain its interests against the right-wing Christian bloc, present indications are that these groups will be replaced by an expanded center coalition containing elements of both.

What does remain, after the dust has settled, is a new relationship between the Palestine commandos – at once the cause and tragic effect of so much unrest in the Middle East – and Lebanon, a country which for much of its existence has managed to steer clear of the Middle East conflict. Both sides will have to make major readjustments. The commandos, if they are to make effective use of their gains in Lebanon, will have to tighten their organizational structure. Lebanon must come to grips with the fact that even if it is not drawn into a "fourth round" with Israel, its capacity for national self-determination is now tied to the question of a Middle East settlement. Destinies which once were separate are now intertwined.

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Stanley Kauffmann on theater

The Time of Your Life
(Vivian Beaumont)

Mercy Street
(American Place)

In the year in which Samuel Beckett wins the Nobel prize, the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater revives William Saroyan. Surprisingly, it turns out to be a good idea: not because of any nostalgic contrast between a rosy past and a bleak present; not because Saroyan contends in a 1966 preface that (believe it or not) he was a predecessor of Beckett's in altering our view of the human condition, but because the passage of time lets us see that *The Time of Your Life* is not exactly the warm-hearted American vaudeville it has been called.

Saroyan's comedy is one of the last items in the two-decade era of the Well-Patched Play. For about a hundred years, the stage had seen the Well-Made Play, which is not dead yet, but between the World Wars, we got a spate of American plays that depended less on intricate plots with surprises and reversals and precisely spaced "big" scenes, and more on a parade of minor characters, each with a tiny "turn" of his own or a bit of subplot. Such an approach enabled an author to give his work a feeling of verism on the cheap (life was being sliced) and also freed him from certain demands of the Well-Made form. That form was not abandoned by any means, but the profligacy of the twenties induced the writer to fill it out with a series of acts, rather than to dwell exclusively on his central characters, to develop them and his plot further. A prime exponent of this approach was the witty George S. Kaufman, any number of whose collaborations are samples. Of course this ragbag method ("The show sags here, Max, let's throw in a funny two-minutes for a window washer") was tied to the prevailing economics of the theater: actors were cheaper then. But it was that current mode of show-biz which Saroyan used and expanded in his poetically intended work. His play is a rather patently conceived Grand Music-Hall of Life.

The setting (except for one short inset scene) is a honky-tonk saloon in San Francisco, 1939. A consciously mysterious character named Joe sits there, drinking champagne, dispensing unexplained money, dispatching messengers, ordering and arranging the lives of people who pass through. There is a carefully balanced assortment of characters: a whore with a soul, a young man and his idealistic girl, a tall-tale-telling hobo, a good-hearted cop, a "thinking" longshoreman (as vapid as Eric Hoffer), a kid who wants to be a tap-dancer, a hungry Negro piano player, two rich slummers . . . well, to complete the list would be almost to mock the play. But that would be misleading, because Saroyan has the ability to write sharp vignettes for many of them, which takes the curse off the arranged feeling and instead gives the play a comfy sprawl. Occasionally, there is the oppressive feeling that we are being consciously shown America-1939, but most of the time the solos, duets, and trios are quite entertaining.

The play's theme – *In the time of your life, live* – is not new in the American canon. For instance, in almost exactly the same words, it's the advice that Strether gives Bilham in James's *The Ambassadors*. As Saroyan uses it, the theme combines a diluted descent from Thoreau with an augury of hippiedom – another American lunge at Edenic bliss. But contradictory things grow out of that free-living belief (as they do now in some hip films and novels). First, the world is made up of Good People and Bad People. There are more Goods than Bads, there is instant communion between the Goods, and there is instant hatred of the Goods by the Bads. *The Time of Your Life* has only one Bad, the vice-squad detective, Blick, and he really has to do yeoman service for his nasty cause. He is the only evil in the play and his part is small, so, as written and played, he has to cram an awful lot of badness into a little space. My heart went out to him as he sweated away to supply the necessary wicked contrast.

Then there is the character of Joe. He has a certain resemblance to Giraudoux's Madwoman of Chaillot. He sits in one place, more or less, the world comes to him, he rewards virtue and punishes vice (after deciding which is which), and dispenses largess as he talks about money like a minor Proudhon. The only difference between Joe and the villainous Blick is benevolence and malevolence – the despotism in them is exactly the same.

And the play ends with as prime a bit of lynch-law as I have ever seen on stage. After we hear a couple of shots, the old hobo comes in and says that he has just killed Blick and has thrown away his gun. Then Joe gives the old man another revolver, presumably to carry on his good work.

The real fairy tale about this play is that it is a sentimental fairy tale. Underneath the boozy friendliness, its basic view is rigidly moralistic, with a view of Paradise as a place where everyone behaves in the way that the Good (self-appointed) order it, and where the Good have the right to kill the Bad but not vice versa. What makes the play specially interesting to see again is that this tension, between superficial humanism and underlying puritanism, is now more apparent than before. But also, to be sure, Saroyan's gift for cutting, disrespectfully, right to the core of every new situation is as humorous as ever, and some of his fancies still glisten untarnished. This is the best production I have seen at the Vivian Beaumont since *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* in 1966, and the company is more comfortable with Saroyan than with Brecht.

Douglas W. Schmidt, the designer, had the problem of converting the huge thrust-stage into a cozy saloon, and he solved it principally with colors, decor, and the aid of John Gleason's friendly lighting. John Hirsch, the director, was nevertheless left with the space problem: getting his actors in a front door, down a flight of steps, and across to somewhere near the center – a distance that seems the length of a football field. But Hirsch has a sense of pace that helps reduce the yardage, which means attack of speech as well as physical speed. He also has the sense not to use the Peter Glenville cliché of holding exit lines for delivery just before the exit; actors get their last lines off generally before they start the long ascent to the door, and before they are up the stairs the focus has

(Continued on page 22)

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Reed Whittemore: A Plug For Vitalism

Bernard Shaw: A Reassessment by Colin Wilson

(Atheneum: $6.95)

Colin Wilson says that he has been a Shaw disciple since childhood. He thinks he knows him "as well as Keats knew Shakespeare or Dr. Johnson the Bible." Thus his book, which has given him more trouble than anything he has ever written (he is 38 and has produced twenty books including an autobiography), is about Wilson as well as Shaw. The intensity of his replies to the critics of Shaw, and the sensitivity of his antennae to negative signals about Shaw's current reputation, suggest that he feels he is now suffering something of Shaw's own fate. Shaw was doomed to be misunderstood, we are told, because he spoke against the prevailing literary culture, and spoke truth.

Wilson asserts that the prevailing culture, both before World War I and after, was largely one of romantic nihilism. Shaw on the other hand was a "vitalist." He wanted to do something for the world rather than sit and complain about it; but for his pains Yeats compared him to a sewing machine, Eliot said he couldn't read him, Pound called him a ninth-rate coward, and even H. G. Wells – who was briefly a fellow Fabian and certainly shared some of Shaw's social optimism – found him impossibly ideological and ill-disposed toward facts. Yet it was Shaw and Shaw only, says Wilson, who was really making sense, endowing life with purpose, displaying a faith in "government and public spirit against anarchism and selfishness."

Wilson allows that Shaw's own life was unevenly vitalist. He was a late bloomer who coasted purposelessly through his twenties until socialism found him out. Then he had twenty good years culminating in *Major Barbara* (1905), his greatest play, and making him one of the world's two [sic] best dramatists by the time he was fifty. After *Major Barbara*, however, he lapsed badly for a decade or so into a "cul-de-sac" lasting until after World War I.

Wilson obviously has few complaints about Shaw, but the war years he finds a dead loss. Shaw was busy making badly timed pronouncements against the British, and also suffering from the discovery that reason was not in charge of things. Only after the war, with the writing of *Heartbreak House* and *Back To Methuselah*, did he become again a force for life rather than death. And in these postwar plays it was primarily as a thinker, not as a dramatist, that he distinguished himself. It is as a thinker anyway that Wilson finds Shaw preeminent among his fellow artists. Unlike Shakespeare, a chap of "complete intellectual sterility" (Shaw's phrase), Shaw was that rare thing, a *serious* artist, because he thought.

Wilson's argument becomes hard to follow here, and may not be worth following. Shaw was a great thinker, and yet he "was not, in the strictest sense of the word, a thinker." Similarly, Wilson describes Shaw as a romantic but also as an anti-romantic romantic and a classicist. What's that again? Shaw is admittedly a tough nut to classify, but he was also himself a great classifier; he might have found sport in putting Wilson in one of the many circles of hell he had for those who do not see clearly.

After reading the Wilson biography I went back and reread *Heartbreak House*, and a bit of *Major Barbara*, to straighten out my own thoughts about Shaw as a thinker. I could sympathize with Wilson's effort to find some niche for the man between romanticism and whatever its opposite is. The charm of the plays is partly derived from the unexpected combination of practicality and Rube Goldberg fantasy that Shaw enjoyed concocting. The combination is a whole genre, and Shaw's very own, which may be one reason for Shaw's unpopularity among his contemporaries: nobody else could do it. But Shaw's talent here is, I think, a talent for a genre, a dramatic mode, a manner, rather than a talent – which in any event we would not see dis-

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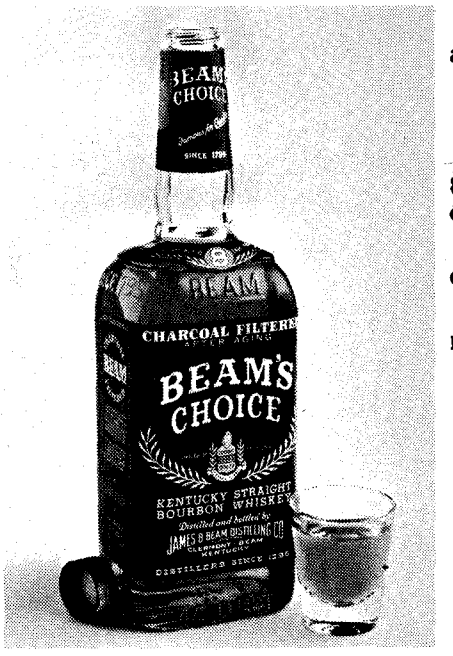

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played in the plays – for actually starting socialist-capitalist dream factories or running countries. The Fabians had, we are always told, enormous influence upon early British socialism, and even produced some of its best leaders; but Shaw was not one of them. Shaw was a statesman's bedside reading, a businessman's Halloween guide, not himself a Caesar or Undershaft.

Wilson would hate my contention. I am in effect denying Shaw the seriousness Wilson attributes to him; for while Wilson acknowledges the staginess of Shaw – and has some good things to say about it – he is anxious to get Shaw off-stage in order to *assert* his stature. Shaw is the "first philosopher since Plato" to approach the idea of the philosopher king "with any consistency." Shaw is "the most important European since Dante," and so on. I regret I can't agree.

I have run across many shavians in the past, and even for a time subscribed to a shavian newsletter; but Wilson's intensity is new to me. I suspect it would have been new to Shaw, too, for essentially the intensity is the intensity of a heady young mystic. There is a fine facade of rationality, and much praise for thought; but the real interest is in the drive behind the thought. In his last chapter, entitled "My Own Part in the Matter," Wilson abandons Shaw in favor of his own thoughts and becomes directly programmatic. He is selling, it seems, a new kind of "evolutionary psychology." He wants us to search out the upper five percent. He wants these talented persons to develop their instinctive powers – which for Wilson means participating with animals in some sort of universal radar – and by these efforts grease the wheels of evolution.

Many literary biographies in recent years have been criticized for their academic attention to small facts in their subjects' lives, and consequent neglect of the significant properties of genius. With Wilson's book we seem to have reached the other extreme: Wilson is obsessed with thesis. Though he is knowledgeable about Shaw, the knowledge is consistently bent to the programmatic occasion. The bending may please evolutionary psychologists, but rationalists of a different school may wonder what the name of reason has come to.

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Winding The Clock

becomes some loadstone
pull of sly tradition which my bones
feel and follow. So after dinner, when
hands compass seven-twenty, I again
take the thin brass key
and, faithful to something compassing me,
perform my ratchet ritual, re-read
the paper backing, brown as labeled creeds
of old medicine
bottles: *Warranted Good,* the discipline
for *keeping the clock running.* And I wind
its springs to another thirty hours, mind
all cautions, and close
the door. The clock and I are thus composed
for another space, one more coil of time
to spend, to scatter. Granddad had to climb
chair rungs to wind it,
and Dad went to his tiptoes to commit
his rite. Such reachings I have understood:
against unwinding time two men withstood.
That much warrants good.

RICHARD SNYDER

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Clarence Brown: The "Idiot"

Security on Trial: The Case of J. Robert Oppenheimer by Philip M. Stern

(Harper & Row; $10.00)

Philip M. Stern's excellent book tells the following story. J. Robert Oppenheimer, to whose scientific and organizational genius America chiefly owes its victory in the atomic race, and the consequences that flow from that victory, associated as a young man with many people, two of them relatives, on the political Left, including the Communist Party. The men who cleared him for his work at Los Alamos on the highest secrets the country then possessed knew in detail of his background and associations. After the war Oppenheimer, anxious about survival in the atomic age, desired some form of international cooperation, thought that defense ought to take priority over offense, and was ambiguous in his attitude toward the development of the hydrogen bomb.

Several more or less coincident events – the arrival of the Eisenhower Administration with its pledge to clean subversives out of the government, the Cold War, the McCarthy terror, and a letter to the FBI charging that Oppenheimer was a Soviet agent – gave his powerful ill-wishers, above all those in the AEC and the Air Force, the opportunity to silence what they took to be a sinister opponent of their plans and a human being whom they loathed. In the spring of 1954, the AEC conducted a security hearing, lasting four weeks, to determine whether the charges made against the man who had long been chairman of their General Advisory Council justified the termination of his clearance. The charge, drafted by Harold Green, then an AEC lawyer and now Stern's collaborator, consisted of two things: all of the derogatory information on Oppenheimer that had been known and constantly reviewed since the early forties, and . . . his unacceptable attitude toward the H-bomb.

Stern is surely right when he sees the principal disaster in the second category of accusation. For obvious reasons, Green's instructions had been to draw up the charges in such a way as to avoid the appearance that Oppenheimer was being tried for his opinions. According to Green, the whole question of the H-bomb was inserted merely as one of the several charges designed to test Oppenheimer's *veracity*. But it was in fact the only new affront that the scientist had given those who opposed him, and without it there might never have been an inquiry at all. The final decision, written by Admiral Lewis Strauss and concurred in by his fellow Commissioners of the AEC with the exception of Henry DeWolf Smyth, was that J. Robert Oppenheimer was "not entitled to the continued confidence of the government and of the Commission because of the proof of fundamental defects in his 'character.' "

That, I say, was the final decision. But there had been two others before it, in this sequence: 1) the decision (divided) of the actual board of inquiry, and 2) the verdict of General K. D. Nichols, General Manager of the AEC, over whose signature the original charge had been issued; then, 3) the final decision of the AEC Commissioners. It is dismaying to follow Stern's tracing of the case through these several instances. The first resulted in a baffling contradiction: that Oppenheimer was "a loyal citizen" but a security risk. The "intermediate tribunal" found Oppenheimer guilty on counts not mentioned in the original charge or in the finding of the "lower court" and *unknown* to the defense. And the final ruling based its guilty verdict on "defects of character," a charge not among those originally brought.

Those involved in the hearing, said the inquiry board chairman Gordon Gray, were "not trying to conform to

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rigid court procedures." It is an understatement that now looks rather grotesque. In Stern's lucid exposition of this jurisprudential mockery, one grasps how those "rigid court procedures," forged through centuries, are still of some help in neutralizing malice and prejudice and simple mental clumsiness. The notion that a man might be condemned on the basis of charges that had not only *not* been made in open court, but had actually been concealed from the accused and his counsel would scarcely have recommended itself to the barons of Runnymede, let alone the framers of our constitution.

One can scarcely resist the author's affection for his subject or his alarm over that tendency in our national life to which the Oppenheimer case, alas, is merely the most poignant, not the only, testimony. Offered the chance of furnishing his point of view to the author, the dying Oppenheimer disqualified himself in a letter of touching magnanimity. We therefore have the report of an admitted, but unaided, partisan. Given the circumstances, Stern's lapses from impartiality seem to me both few and benign. He is, on the contrary, at some pains to expose the contradictions and perplexities of the central character. His prose is very competent in the spy-thriller mode; he has an instinct for the dramatic. What really thrusts the reader forward, however, is the reliable old impetus of outrage.

It is scarcely astonishing that a minute review of so complex a life should reveal Oppenheimer as humanly fallible, or that, given his unattainably strict standards for himself, he should have called himself an "idiot" under the grilling of a seasoned cross-examiner. What is surprising, as one reads the account of it today, is that Oppenheimer should have elected to endure unspeakable indignities at the hands of his moral and intellectual inferiors (who mulled over the charge that he had had "at least one Communist mistress.") Why? Why did he not fling at them the words that Malraux, later on, wished he had said – "*Je suis la bombe atomique!*" – and walk out? Why not, when you come right down to it, some withering blast of *grandeur*, some grand gesture from this intellect who towered over his tongue-tied inquisitors? But he was not what Malraux and other admirers might have wished him to be. At the center of his complexity there was, as in the case of that other "Idiot," a bewildering simplicity. "Masochistic exhibitionist," one acquaintance has unworthily proposed. I prefer an answer that seems to lie in words that Oppenheimer did say afterwards to George Kennan, who had wondered why, given the displeasure of his native land, he did not go live abroad: "Damn it, I happen to love this country."

Stern's book makes it remorsely clear that in the love affair between Oppenheimer and us, the profit was largely ours. *Il y en a toujours un qui aime et un qui se laisse aimer.* We rather permitted ourselves to be loved and then, in a fit of jitters, wondered what he was really up to.

It is that best kind of book, the kind that, in faithfully doing one thing very well, raises questions that go beyond it. Stern concludes with an inspired juxtaposition of two brief narratives. The one that is true demonstrates how considerations of "loyalty" and "security" probably put the Nazis two years behind us in atomic research. The other story, divided from the truth only by the most breathtakingly plausible fiction, demonstrates how America's luck gave her Oppenheimer and General Groves – who approved the scientist for clearance, already knowing in 1943 practically every charge against him in 1954 – instead of the later wardens of our "security" who condemned him.

As I write this review, the newspaper at my elbow carries the story of Dr. C. L. Markert, chairman of the biology department at Yale, who has just found himself on the newly exposed, but grimly current, blacklist of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Why has the country, unbeknownst to us all, been denied the advice of this leading scientist? The answer must be surmised, of course, since no one can know for sure: as a young man in 1936-39, Dr. Markert fought against Franco. It is instructive to recall that it was General Groves, one of the few Americans who had favored Franco from the beginning, who cleared Robert Oppenheimer, knowing that he had been sending contributions to the anti-Franco forces through the agency of the Communist Party.

There is a word that runs unobtrusively as a leitmotif through Stern's book: "unthinkable." It was "unthinkable" that Robert Oppenheimer should act as a Soviet agent to betray his country. It was "unthinkable" that Americans, several of them trained

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lawyers, should take part in this freakish simulation of legality. And much else was "unthinkable," besides. But events have lent a powerful seduction to the unthinkable today. It teases us to think it and . . . do it. Not even Oppenheimer, as scientist, was immune. He opposed the unthinkable with reasonable consistency up to the point when Teller demonstrated its ultimate enticement, its technical feasibility. "Sweet" was Oppenheimer's word, and his opposition to the bomb that exceeded the terror of his own by a factor of twenty was thereafter, at best, ambiguous. "Unthinkable," the several other sides of his nature must have shuddered. The unthinkable is the source – is it not? – of the pain that one sees in the eyes of Halsman's eloquent photograph, the cover of this book. At some of Oppenheimer's words, both those in his trial and those preserved from a decade earlier on decaying spools of tape, we wince. Stern's book is a balanced and civilized invitation to regard our wince in the mirror.

Conversation, not allowed to evaporate in accordance with its nature, is now frozen on the celluloid of our zealous eavesdroppers, and this has led us to believe that words never change. Physics may change, and men, that emblem of mutability, the moon herself, but we read certain plasticized wisps of Oppenheimer's talk from 26 years ago . . . and we wince. I prefer the face on the cover. In the mute language of the human countenance, which is strangely more permanent than words, those eyes speak to us of the condition of man, of a man, and of the pity of it all.

Correspondence

Taylor's South

Sirs:

Barbara Raskin's review of Peter Taylor's *Collected Stories* (October 25) is a savage and self-indulgent exercise in sophistry. It says a good deal more about Miss Raskin's prejudices and perceptions than it does about Mr. Taylor's work.

I will concede to Miss Raskin that

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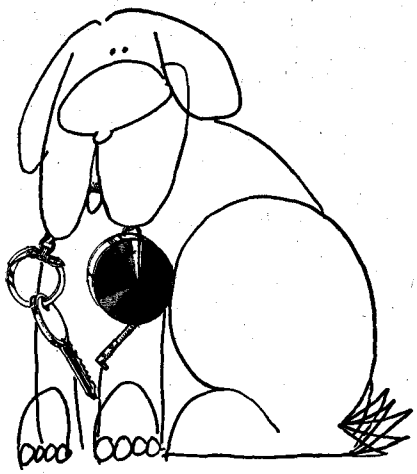

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Mr. Taylor's stories have a "Jamesian precision and symmetry," though we part company if the phrase is used pejoratively. Beyond that, we simply part company.

"Faulknerian mood and atmosphere"? Perhaps, if one's reading of Faulkner is limited to "A Rose for Emily" or "My Grandmother Millard." Apparently that is as far as Miss Raskin has gotten, for anyone familiar with Faulkner's important work knows that he and Peter Taylor have precious little in common. Indeed, the point is that Peter Taylor is the too-rare Southern writer who has managed to *avoid* imitation of Faulkner, covert or overt.

"The characters are reminiscent of Williams or Capote." Oh, come on. Aside from their Southernness, the people those two writers have created are totally foreign to Mr. Taylor's people. Does Miss Raskin really see important similarities between Blanche DuBois and, perhaps, Helen Ruth Lovell of "A Wife of Nashville"? Does she think Mr. Taylor's people are stereotypes merely because she has encountered people with similar accents, living in similar places with similar social situations, in the fiction of other Southern writers?

Which is to say that Miss Raskin begins her review with the fundamentally untenable premise that all Southern fiction is alike. She recites, with marvelous condescension, the whole litany of cliches presumed essential to "Southern writing." I could, if I cared to, compile a comparable list for "New Yorker writers" or "Jewish writers," though neither my wit nor my rapier would be as sharp as Miss Raskin's. The net effect would be the same: to collect, in one bag of oversimplified literary conventions, writers who otherwise have nothing in common save vaguely similar settings, characters and, occasionally, themes. I would then be saying that Updike equals Cheever equals O'Hara, or Bellow equals (Philip or Henry) Roth, and I suspect that the literary wolves would be at me forthwith – with damn good reason.

One of the cliches to which those who scorn Southern writers are addicted is that their portrayals of black characters are "oblivious to past or present realities." That is Miss Raskin's phrase, and it reveals nothing so much as a case of racing Dixiephobia. As it happens, her charge pertains to more than a few Southern writers – Faulkner most prominent among them, though he strained mightily to do otherwise. But Miss Raskin's comment is irrelevant to Mr. Taylor's treatment of black characters. Because, I think, he knows that he cannot create a black character from the inside, he justifiably and properly creates blacks as whites see them. And he invests them with a moral authority which Miss Raskin either misses or chooses to ignore.

Mr. Taylor does not write about "Southern white ladies handling black servants"; if Miss Raskin would reread "Cookie," she would realize that if anyone is being "handled" it is the white "Mizz." If she thinks "A Wife of Nashville" is "a long chronicle of the maids Mrs. Lovell had over several decades and how they satisfied or failed to meet their human and domestic responsibilities," then she is guilty of an incompetence which I find appalling in the pages of *The New Republic*. "A Wife of Nashville" is about the subjugation and "lonesomeness" (Mr. Taylor's word) of women, black and white alike; Miss Raskin's suggestion that it is a cheap melodrama of domestic manners reflects only her own irresponsibility.

Sure, the blacks who appear in Mr. Taylor's fiction are Aunt Tomasinas. But in case Miss Raskin is unaware, such people did and do exist, painful (and embarrassing to political faddists) though their presence may be. Mr. Taylor has created, in Aunt Munsie of "What Do You Hear from 'Em?", no caricature; to say that Aunt Munsie wished no permanent reunion with men whom she raised from infancy is to repudiate both social history and Aunt Munsie's humanity.

As to Mr. Taylor's treatment of the Southern past, Miss Raskin indulges her own insistence on accusing him of delicate bigotry when she says that he "seems to believe that those really were the good old days." I do not believe Mr. Taylor places any value judgment, one way or the other, on the past *per se* – nor do I believe that as a creative artist he is under any obligation to do so. He *does* insist that the lost sense of family – and in "What Do You Hear from 'Em?" it is Aunt Munsie who feels lost – is a poignant and inescapable reality. He *does* insist – and he is right – that in a period of change and uncertainty (a period hardly limited to Dixie), the urge to recapture the past, no matter how that past may be romanticized, is very powerful indeed.

Miss Raskin's final point, if a "point"

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it is, is that Mr. Taylor writes about "frivolous, unimportant, superficial, silly Southern whites." She says he "does take these people seriously," which "implicates and indicts the author as much as his work." I for one am inclined to think that most of us, wherever we live, qualify for Miss Raskin's definition of Mr. Taylor's "Southern whites," and I am inclined to think we deserve to be taken seriously. Bernard Malamud is right to take the "unimportant" Jews of the New York ghetto seriously, because they are people. Don Carpenter is right in taking the "unimportant" white people of Eastern Oregon seriously, because they are people. Robert Coover is right in taking his "unimportant" J. Henry Waugh seriously, because he is a person.

Miss Raskin, then, strikes me as first a snob – an intellectual bigot – and second a totally ignorant student of "regional" literature. She seems to have no comprehension that the regional, in the hands of the serious regionalist, is a microcosm of the universal – that Yoknapatawpha County is "Southern" only by the happenstance of Mr. Faulkner's birth. Or maybe she really thinks that *Absalom, Absalom!* is merely a book about a houseful of batty Dixie bigots and *The Assistant* a book about a goy who got religion.

Peter Taylor has some important and (I know Miss Raskin will *love* the word) relevant things to say about the human family, the natural longing for the past, the dependence on fragile social structures, the "lonesomeness" which is a sad fact of human life. Miss Raskin has showboated her own political sentiments at his expense, and she has picked the wrong victim.

Jonathan Yardley
Greensboro, N.C.

In reply:

That the Southern world view still has a universal validity has been recently shown by Willie Morris. That that world view is poignant is not shown by contrasting rich white manipulativeness with poor black integrity. The contrast falls of its own invention. If Southern whites saw blacks the picture might be instructive, but Mr. Taylor's portrait turns out to be – invisible. The fact that I did not indulge Mr. Taylor's fantasies has apparently angered Mr. Yardley. We each choose our own victims: Mr. Taylor offered himself, but Aunt Tomasina is surely too stale to be devoured at this day and age with the same old Southern relish.

Barbara Raskin

Cleveland Orchestra

Sirs:

Robert Evett's "Revolution in White Tie and Tails" (November 1), contains a number of errors. As attorney for The Cleveland Federation of Musicians, Local 4, let me set the record straight.

The statement that the Union is the "enemy" of the orchestra members is dead wrong. Past differences existed but the Union never "attacked the orchestra in a war of extermination." On the contrary, when members sued the Union the action was decided adversely to the members. This decision was upheld by the United States court of appeals. The cases are reported at 193 F. Supp. 647, aff'd. 303 F. 2d 299 (CA-6, 1962). Another suit challenged the Union's right to bring charges against members. This was stayed and the charges later dismissed.

It is inaccurate to report that but for a "few cool heads" on the "Ohio State Supreme Court" the Union would have succeeded in its "war of extermination." The Ohio Supreme Court never passed on any phase of the litigation. Members filed a declaratory judgment action in the Ohio Court of Common Pleas against the Union and The Musical Arts Association, the orchestra's parent organization. This was dismissed in favor of the Union and Association.

I don't know where Mr. Evett found 14 cases decided by the Ohio Supreme Court. His research is faulty or else his informant was confused about another lawsuit which challenged the validity of the Union's present three-year contract. This action was settled by agreement of the parties. The relationship between the members and Union has improved. Both will unite

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

CLARENCE BROWN, *Professor of Russian Literature at Princeton, is currently on leave in London to complete a book on the Russian poet Osip Mandelstam.*

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A New Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority

Opponents of the Vietnam War have worked to end it in many ways, some through conventional politics, some by supporting draft resistance or attacking university complicity in militarism. Others have carried resistance further, destroying draft files and developing opposition within the armed forces.

We believe that resistance to *many* forms of illegitimate authority is necessary to bring health to this country and make it a constructive force instead of a terror in the politics of nations.

Therefore, we support those who resist by

- refusing to register for the draft or submit to induction
- impeding the operations of draft boards and induction centers
- expressing anti-war views while in the armed forces, or refusing to obey illegal or immoral orders, or absenting themselves without leave
- conducting rent and workers' strikes, boycotts, and similar direct actions aimed at ending exploitation in the fields, in factories, in housing
- organizing against harassment by police, by the courts, and by Congress
- organizing sit-ins, strikes, and any principled actions at schools and universities, to end racist practices and direct complicity with militarism

The Vietnam War has reminded us that major decisions can be made in the United States in cynical disregard of the clearly expressed will of the people and with little concern for those most affected, at home and abroad. The war has also illustrated the readiness of the U.S. to use violence to impose the social arrangements of its choice and to destroy those who attempt to achieve popular control over their affairs. Closely linked to the government, providing its top personnel and shaping its policies, are the centers of private power, the great corporations that control the economic life of the nation and, increasingly, of the world. They are governed not by popular will but by corporate interests as determined by a narrow autocratic elite. The government's resort to force to impose decisions of a ruling elite is one sign of failing democratic institutions and thus of the illegitimacy of the state. Both the use of police and the military and the absence of democratic control over major institutions underscore the illegitimacy of the authority that sets public policy in the U.S. and establishes the framework for social life. **But it is not enough to decry the exercise of illegitimate authority; if it is illegitimate, it must be resisted.**

Resistance to the war and the draft has brought peace groups into conflict with police, courts, and universities. This is not surprising, for the war has its roots deep in our society and to oppose it seriously is to attack a wide range of evils and the institutions that sponsor them. A brief review of five areas of illegitimate authority follows.

1. **The war on Vietnam is neither a unique folly nor an error in judgment.** Since the end of the last century, U.S. power has been used for economic, political and cultural exploitation of smaller and poorer nations. The "accelerated pacification," the most ferocious non-nuclear bombing in history, and the deceitful maneuvering in Paris are recent manifestations of a global strategy aimed at building an integrated world system dominated by the U.S. Thus seen, Vietnam is one of a long series of interventions in the affairs of many nations: Greece, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Iran, Laos, Thailand, the Congo, the Philippines, and others. Motivated by a mixture of private interests and misplaced convictions, the Pax Americana continues to inflict suffering and subservience on much of the third world.

2. **The Vietnam War has also brought the human and economic costs of the garrison state home.** It has allowed an insatiable military organization to claim over half of the federal budget, directly and indirectly. (A tenth is allocated to health, education, and welfare.) Beyond that, President Nixon has promoted the MIRV and the ABM, both bellicose gestures towards China and the Soviet Union as well as extravagant subsidies of aerospace industries. The Pentagon has insisted recently that military expenditures, even "after Vietnam," will remain at current levels, in order to "resupply and modernize" the armed forces. And in states and cities, a martial mood prevails as police and national guardsmen arm themselves with new weapons, gas the Berkeley campus from helicopters and, there and elsewhere, shoot at citizens, particularly the poor and the young. Dissidents in the army face heavy sentences; and for young men generally, the draft remains the prime symbol of social obligation. In brief, the violence of the state has come increasingly to threaten or control the lives of U.S. citizens.

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3. **This triumph of illegitimate force has continued to enrich the rich.** Cost-plus defense and space contracts have guaranteed affluence to a handful of corporations and subsidized their growth, while the real wages of workers, after inflation and spiraling taxes, have diminished. The non-unionized and the unemployed are, obviously, the worst victims: welfare programs, ill-conceived to begin with, have been cut back or left languishing, more an insult than an aid. Real welfare programs have been reserved for the wealthy: tax loopholes, the oil depletion allowance, airline subsidies, farm subsidies, highway projects, urban renewal, subsidies to elite universities, and so on. In the past government policy has characteristically preserved or increased the distance between rich and poor. The policy of permanent preparation for war is no exception.

4. **Like wealth, control over institutions has been unequally distributed and irresponsibly used.** The mistreatment by police of the people they supposedly serve has been only the most blatant example. Schools have failed to educate the children of poor and working class families, thus guaranteeing their impotence in a technological society: in most inner cities, fewer than half the students who enter high school graduate; in New York City, where blacks and Puerto Ricans make up about half of the student population, only a fifth of the graduates of academic (i.e., college-oriented) high schools are black or Puerto Rican—and only a fifth of those graduates go on to college. Yet attempts by parents to improve the schools through community control have been fought bitterly by New York's educational bureaucracy. Or to take a rather different instance, heavily subsidized highways have displaced families and foreclosed possibilities for mass transport systems that might serve all—hardly a surprise, given the dependence of the nation's largest corporations on the automobile. Industrial wastes, oil leakages, and municipal sewage rob citizens of beaches and streams and, with the fouling of the atmosphere, literally threaten the continuation of life. In short, most people have little control over the conditions of their work, their education, their means of transport—indeed, the air they breathe and the water they drink.

5. **The most powerless have been people of color.** U.S. history has included the systematic conquest and slaughter of American Indians, the enslavement, degradation, and murder of Afro-Americans, the callous exploitation of Chicanos, the detention and robbery of Japanese-Americans, and the use of atomic weapons, napalm, gas, and crop-destroying chemicals against people of the third world. Consequently, U.S. citizens inherit a nation in which privilege and white power are part of the "natural" order and structure of society. People of color die at a disproportionate rate in warfare or "peace." They are unemployed disproportionately, receive inferior education disproportionately, are humiliated disproportionately. Despite the recent recognition of some mystical, undefined "racism" by official government commissions, the living conditions of non-whites have remained intolerable. Every effort by non-whites to gain power, even in their own communities, has been met by violent opposition; militant blacks, determined to bring about the promised changes, are harassed, jailed, killed, or forced into exile. In many ghettoes, there is virtual war between blacks and predominantly white police.

Two years ago, the first Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority focused on the war and the draft. **But we cannot oppose the war without opposing the institutions that support and maintain it.** Imperialism, militarism, economic exploitation, undemocratic power, racism: though the words may seem stale, they describe the exercise of illegitimate authority in the United States today. Again, we call upon all to join us in the struggle against illegitimate authority. **Now is the time to resist.**

In reversing the convictions of the Boston Four, the First Circuit Court of Appeals left open the possibility that signing the original Call to Resist or this New Call could, in conjunction with other acts, be viewed as illegal. We believe it is the government's actions, not ours, which are illegal. However, signers and contributors should be aware that their actions might be found illegal.

A Partial List of the Signers of This Statement

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this year in negotiations with management, something the Union has sought for years.

Mortimer Riemer
Cleveland, Ohio

In reply . . .

I'm bitterly sorry that errors of fact crept into my cranky, emotional piece on the symphony strikes. There was another error Mr. Riemer doesn't mention: the impasse in San Francisco was a pre-season impasse, thus not technically the strike it was reported to be here in Washington.

Mr. Riemer knows far more than I do about litigations between the members of the Cleveland orchestra and Local 4 of the A F of M. If the lion and the lamb are about to lie down together, I was mistaken to disturb their repose by even alluding to the events of the last few years. However, there were two big issues: one was the right to ratify contracts, the other to expel members for breaches of discipline. The local reserved both of these rights, and the players, who comprised only a tiny percentage of the local's membership, complained that they had a right to some voice in their destiny. The conflict resulted, in the summer of 1961, in the formation of ICSOM, the International Congress of Symphony and Opera Musicians, designed to function within the A F of M but to be felt. This union within a union has been anathema to conservatives within the A F of M and to management as well, and one prominent conductor, who has taken care never to say it in public and therefore cannot be quoted by name, has gone so far as to call it part of a communist plot to destroy the cultural life of the nation.

Local 4 did ratify contracts unsatisfactory to the majority of the Cleveland orchestra, and attempted to expel members. Whether this was "a war of extermination," as I called it, or merely a maneuvre which would have reduced one of the world's greatest orchestras to provincial status is a matter of judgment. I may have erred in mine. For the expelled players, it would have been an end of their professional careers, since a union card has become an absolute requirement for the professional performing musician.

If the generous sentiments of Mr. Riemer's letter mean that the Cleveland Symphony "members" will, in the future, be able to negotiate directly with management and ratify their own contracts, let him or one of the officers of the local say so explicitly and publicly. Failing something as clear as this, we will have to assume that orchestra players in Cleveland are winning their rights with difficulty.

Robert Evett

Malthusian Consolation

Sirs:

Mr. Critchfield's worthy and commendable article ("Feeding the Hungry," Oct. 25) does not touch on a couple of considerations that give Malthus a bit of consolation in spite of the "green revolution." 1) The new crops will go not to providing better food for people, but to raising more people at the same old starvation level; they will postpone, and make bigger, the eventual catastrophe. 2) More serious still is the very rapid deterioration of planetary food *potential*. Pollution, urbanization (a million acres of agricultural land built up each year in the US), soil erosion, waterlogging, salting of soil, and other factors are wiping out good land. Elimination of animals and plants is destroying many sources of food, such as whales, and destroying many genetic strains of crops. We may need those strains some day. If we switch to new miracle grains, and a disease that kills them (but not all the old strains) appears, we will be in trouble.

It is also worth recording that China *has* new wheat strains, which they say they have from Albania. These "Albanian wheats" fit the specifications for the new Mexican wheats. Either imitation or direct "stealing" has been going on. In any case, the wheat is being planted over huge acreages, *ad maiorem Mao gloriam*. Mao's thought is not much of a barrier to development, so far, in this field; it may be in the future, but does not seem to be so now.

E. N. Anderson, Jr.
Asst. Professor of Anthropology
University of California, Riverside

Tobacco Prohibition

Sirs:

While I agree with the substance of your editorial, "Cyclamates and Cigarettes" (*NR*, Nov. 1), the condemnation of the Congress and HEW for not having the "guts" to suggest banning cigarettes is surely wrong-headed. Failure to prevent Agriculture from subsidizing foreign advertising of American tobacco and to enact legislation for strong warnings on advertising and packaging – both of which you mention – deserve reprimand. But even the suggestion of a new Volstead Act, against tobacco this time, is horrifying at best.

Nicholas Acocella
New York City

Next Week:
Fall Book
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"THE C-5A cargo transport, it develops, will cost at least twice the original estimate. Alan Cranston is California's other senator, a scourge of the military-industrial complex. The C-5A is built by Lockheed, of Burbank, California. Why did Cranston vote for the C-5A? Because, as he explained, a fleet of these transports might make possible the evacuation of American troops from Europe."

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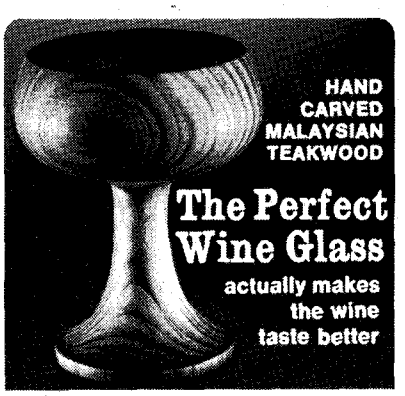

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

shifted elsewhere and the play continues.

Joe is a role that George M. Cohan might have wanted to write for himself. It needs that sort of full personality to keep it from being somewhat domineering and intrusive. James Broderick, who is probably tired of being told that he resembles Norman Mailer, is a careful and intelligent actor. I saw him last as Richard in Joyce's *Exiles* with the Trinity Square company in Providence in May. (Not counting his performance as Ray in *Alice's Restaurant*.) He showed understanding and control, but he lacked quite the presence to make Richard a center of gravity for the play. His Joe, equally intelligently played, lacks the teasing flavor, the unction, to keep him from sounding peevish sometimes.

Robert Symonds is an ideal repertory actor. He seems able to do anything at least adequately and some things excellently. Here he plays the old hobo so credibly that, from the middle of the auditorium, you both chuckle and wish he would take a bath. Philip Bosco, one of my favorite American classical actors, has a fine time – and gives us one – as the tough-but-tender saloon-owner. Leonard Frey, who was the pock-marked "queen" in *The Boys in the Band*, is winning as the young hoofer – and shows surprising range. Gene Troobnick, always welcome, gives nice touches to the good-hearted cop.

Lincoln Center continues to have hard luck with ladies. Susan Tyrrell, Priscilla Pointer, and Laura Esterman (as Kitty, Mary L., and Elsie the nurse) are so incompetent that to criticize them might discourage people from seeing a production which is, on the whole, worthwhile.

Anne Sexton's poetry is, to me, a combination of agony and ostentation. She writes about madness, suicide attempts, and sex in a confessional vein that is sometimes piercingly fine and sometimes a gifted sort of bragging. Nevertheless I looked forward to her first play, *Mercy Street*. Dylan Thomas is, I think, the least rereadable of any outstanding poet in this century, yet the character of his poetry served him well in *Under Milk Wood*. Theater arts supplemented his shortcomings and highlighted his validity. I thought this might happen with Mrs. Sexton. But, unlike Thomas, she has not written as well in her play as in her poems, so there is less that the theater can do for her. Much of the language flows by with only the faint poetic perfume that many an intense young lady could supply, and the organic concept of her play is neither appealingly simple, as was Thomas's, nor usefully complex.

This presumably autobiographical work is about a woman caught in a chasm between faith and madness who tries to reconstruct, out of her past, some kind of bridge to one side or the other. The figures are trite: a priest who is transmuted into a psychiatrist, and back again; a great-aunt whose sexual frustrations are sublimated in money-hoarding and religious ecstasy. Apparently the heroine's mental disturbance derives from her drunken father's quasi-attempt at incest – not so much the attempt as the aunt's discovery of it and the girl's subsequent efforts to placate the aunt, even by imitating the old woman's madness. But we follow the play nodding with foreknowledge and without much of the pleasure, in language or illumination, that foreknowledge can sometimes bring. At present Mrs. Sexton's idea of dramatic writing is to give alternate lines to different people.

There is an ingratiating performance by William Prince as the late-Marquand father. As the heroine, Marian Seldes is admirable. I'm particularly happy to say this because I have not often been fond of her work. But here, instead of the ethereal attitudinizing one might have anticipated, Miss Seldes heads straight for the solid rock of reality that only unselfconscious imagination and true sympathy can provide. She passes easily the severest test that a possibly arch actress can undergo: a scene in which she becomes a child again, sitting cross-legged on the floor with her back to us, playing with a doll. Miss Seldes is thinking only of that child, nothing else, so the technical capacity which she has always had produces that child before us. Her performance throughout the play deserves the role that Mrs. Sexton promises but never delivers. I would attribute some of the difference in Miss Seldes to Charles Maryan's direction except that he has permitted a performance by M'el Dowd, as the aunt, that is near the nadir of ineptness.

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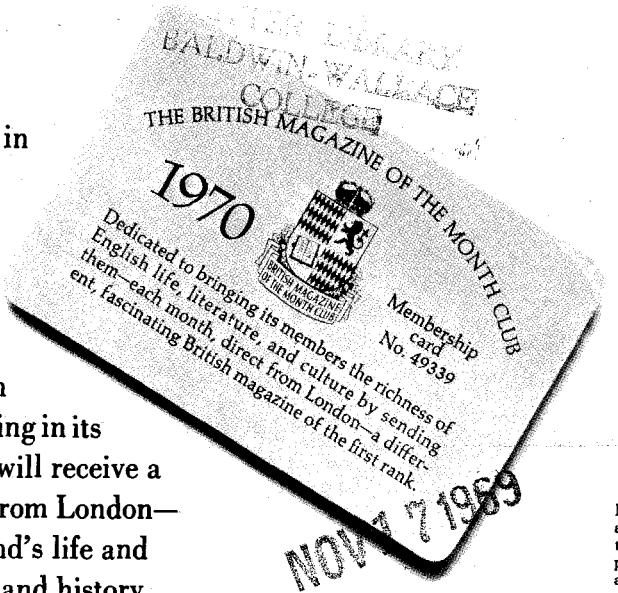
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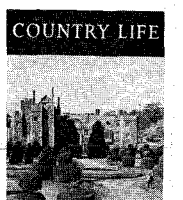

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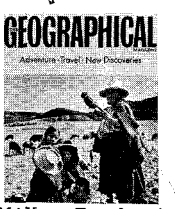

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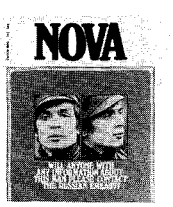

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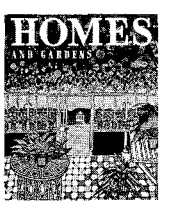

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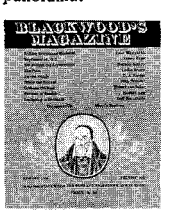

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